















THE  
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# THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

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Volume IV

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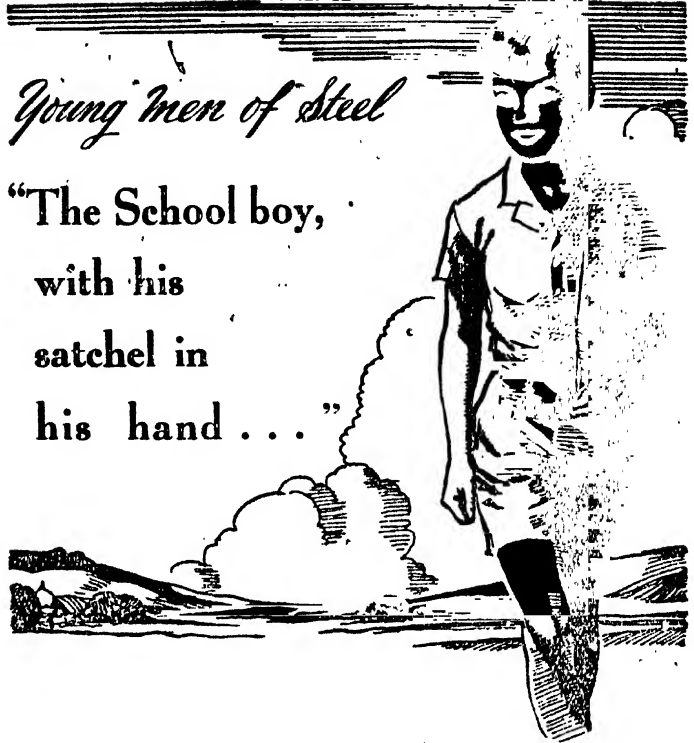
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# THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

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## TYPES OF BEGGARS

KATAYUN H. CAMA

In our country beggary has become a gigantic problem—To find a satisfactory solution to this it is necessary first to undertake a scientific analysis of the various types of beggars. Therefore, in this article the author discusses the principal types with their sub-types in the hope that it will stimulate the social worker to approach this problem intelligently by making a more intensive study of the numerous types of beggars that exist in India and then adopt measures of rehabilitation suited to their several needs.

Dr. (Miss) Cama is the Presidency Magistrate of the Bombay Juvenile Court.

**P**ERHAPS the most sinister of all social ills or shall we say evils, is beggary. It is not without reason or deep thought and serious study that A. M. Biswas, the Founder-Superintendent of the Refuge for Beggars at Calcutta, has remarked, "the status of a place can best be judged by the number of its beggars". It is a curse not only in respect to its immediate effect on its victim but it is the root of nearly every other social evil as well. Beggary constitutes a very complex social problem. It leads to physical deterioration, mental incompetency, preventable disease and starvation, and wrecks lives by forcing them into crime, mental abnormalities, family maladjustments, and social irregularities of every description. As it is vitally interrelated with other social problems like unemployment, intemperance and poverty, its right solution requires the utmost care on the part of social workers and students. Indeed, the problem of beggary has assumed such gigantic proportions in a country like India, that only a well-studied scientific approach may help us to arrive at anywhere near the beginning of a solution of the problem in its hydra-headed aspects. Some of the questions that baffle the sociologist are :—Why does beggary persist? What are the fundamental causes of the phenomenon? Can it be eradicated or is it to remain with mankind for ever? No satisfactory answer has yet been found. Yet, we know in part at least where the cause lies, but have been powerless, for some reason or other, to strike at it or to remove it. As no fruitful attack can be made on



the cause, nature, prevention and cure of this serious social disease without fully understanding the variety or classes of beggars, it will be well for us to start with a study of the types of beggars that infest our society.

Beggars have been classified according to varied categories. The lay person usually associates the idea of begging with the unutterably poor, the disabled, the blind, the crippled and the diseased who seek assistance or charitable contributions. In Western countries where begging is not as acute a problem as it is in India and China the classification of the type of beggars is rather limited. Irwin St. John Tucker<sup>1</sup> divides them into three groups—hoboes, tramps and 'bums'. According to him, "A hobo is a migratory worker. A tramp is a migratory non-worker. A 'bum' is a stationary non-worker". Somewhat more different than this is Anderson's<sup>2</sup> classification into seasonal labourers, migratory casual labourers, migratory non-workers, non-migratory casual labourers and 'bums'. In his opinion the 'bums' are the lowest of all the types of homeless men. They include alcoholics, drug addicts, old, helpless and unemployable men, the most pitiable and most repulsive of all the "down and outs". They are stationary non-workers who gravitate between the foot-paths and the jail, living on the charity of their fellowmen. The beggars and petty thieves among the 'bums' are the most conspicuous of the homeless men. From this classification it will be seen that the reference is to homeless men rather than beggars and that the type, scale and seriousness of begging as it exists in India is not even dreamt of. These homeless men in Europe and America present a far different picture from that of the beggars in India who grovel in stark naked poverty, starvation, filth and disease. Means of "getting by" vary greatly with the different types of homeless men in the West. The hoboes work at odd jobs like those of dish-washers, potato peelers, waiters, janitors while in the city, and of lumber-jacks, teamsters, harvest hands while in the country. The non-migratory casual labourers depend a good deal on begging, either openly or under the guise of peddling pencils, shoe-laces and such other articles. Sometimes they sell cuff-links, collar buttons, cheap eye-glasses and watches, "putting on a stunt" or making a speech to draw a crowd. Some of them pretend to be sick, deaf and dumb, blind or crippled. Others indulge in soap-box oratory and sell papers or books on the labour movement and pass the hat for their own benefit. Others exploit younger children making them sing or recite a piece with a view to making a sentimental appeal. Some make a speciality of exploiting the charities, while a considerable number try to gain sympathy by appeal to the clergy, the trade unions, fraternal organizations and the like with a "hard luck" tale. They beg and borrow from each other.

<sup>1</sup> *World Tomorrow*, 6: 262, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson, Nels, *The Hobo*, p. 265.

## TYPES OF BEGGARS

They also rob each other, taking particular advantage of the man who is asleep or drunk. In mild weather they sleep in parks, vacant houses, box cars or in the open. In the winter they make themselves at home in railway depots, doorways, mission floors and pool rooms. They walk the streets at night and find a place to doze through the day. They beg openly on the street or shamefacedly at back-doors.

The downward steps in the demoralization of the homeless man are likely to be somewhat as follows:—(1) Inability to find regular work, (2) extended period of unemployment, (3) travelling in search of a job, (4) after a time travelling without working much, (5) wandering without working at all except as a last resort, and (6) ultimately settling down in some city to live by begging. Thus we find that there is always the possibility of the regular workman becoming a hobo, the hobo a tramp and the tramp a 'bum'. In England this class of homeless men are called "incorrigible rogues and vagabonds". The beggar in England is described as consisting of "every person wandering abroad, or placing himself or herself in any public place, street, highway, court, or passage, to beg or gather alms, or causing or procuring any child or children (under 16) to do so." It also comprises "every person wandering abroad and endeavouring, by the exposure of wounds or deformities, to obtain or gather alms, or endeavouring to procure charitable contributions of any nature or kind, under false or fraudulent pretence." It would be both profitable and interesting to study the measures adopted by England, America and the various European countries to combat the problem of begging and to meet the needs of these homeless men including the hoboes, tramps and "bums". But as such a study does not come within the scope of the present article, we shall proceed by way of contrast to examine the types of beggars existing in India.

The types of beggars in India may be classified and considered under the following categories:—(1) The child beggar, (2) The physically defective, (3) The mentally defective and mentally ill, (4) The diseased, (5) The able-bodied, (6) The religious mendicant, (7) The bogus religious mendicant, (8) The tribal beggar, (9) The employed beggar, (10) The small-trade beggar, (11) The temporarily unemployed who are employable, (12) The temporarily unemployed who are unemployable, (13) The somewhat permanently unemployed who are employable, (14) The permanently unemployed and unemployable, (15) The permanently unemployed who are viciously or incorrigibly unwilling to work.

This is by no means an exhaustive or complete list of the types of beggars as each broad division implies several sub-divisions. Nevertheless, it is somewhat helpful in as much as it gives an idea of the complexity of the

problem and helps the social worker to view the problem in its proper perspective.

*The Child Beggar.*—It is no exaggeration to say that the most hideously victimised and exploited of the beggars is the child beggar. The child beggar may be a paid or unpaid assistant to an adult beggar. When he thus assists his parents or relatives his only reward is days of wandering and starvation and the tinkle of the copper coin in his bowl. Very often a child is just left on the streets to die, or often if he happens to remain alive, to fend for himself. Such a child out of sheer destitution takes to begging until he is brought by the police to the Remand Home and committed to an institution for the protection and care of children, or to a certified school in the provinces where such institutions and schools are provided either by the Government or by the public or by some bodies or societies interested in the welfare of children. In many provinces and native states of India no such schools, institutions or societies exist, and the child is allowed to beg and roam the streets at large until in his adulthood he automatically merges into the incredibly vast army of professional beggars. Among other child beggars are those who are born defective, and those in whom the deformity is intentionally and knowingly caused by the parents for their own profit. The arm or leg is twisted after birth and the child is paraded in the streets to draw the maximum amount of sympathy. Others wilfully neglect to nurse the child until he appears to be on the point of death so that the public moved by the emaciated, anaemic and death-like appearance may pour out their nickels and coppers. Very often these parents are only too thankful if the child is congenitally deformed. Such parents look upon the child not as a human being, but merely as an object for arousing pity. The life, welfare or death of the child has no meaning in their scheme of existence. If one such child dies, they are ready to produce many others equally defective or more so. Then there are the feeble-minded who fall an easy prey to the machinations of the most unscrupulous riff-raffs and sink to the lowest level of beggary and degeneracy. In contrast to the feeble-minded children are the perfectly normal and intelligent children who openly and brazenly beg in the streets, trams, trains and railway stations. They either sing or put on an act or pretend to be blind and crippled. Others who work as shoe-shine boys often accost the public for alms, and still others do so under the pretence of selling some nick-nacks.

To illustrate how cruelly and in what various ways children are exploited, I may take the liberty of quoting a few passages from a speech given by Mr. K. M. Munshi, (who was then the Home Member of the Government of Bombay), under the auspices of the Tata Graduate School of Social Work:

"But beggary would not be a profitable trade if there were no children to attract the customer's attention. The beggar child, therefore, is the most valuable asset in the trade; and as such is sold, bartered or mortgaged. The ordinary price at which a blind child can be bought is Rs. 5/-, that of a crippled one is Rs. 3/-. Some years ago I came across the case of a child which had shells put into its eyes to look like blind.

"What about the poor child? It is beaten, thrashed, branded into learning the arts of attracting your sympathy. Near the General Post Office a little boy, a short while ago, attracted the generosity of passers-by by piteous importunities. After hours of crying the boy would get tired; the guardian who sat a little farther away branded the child's hand by a lighted *bidi* whenever the child's strength to whine failed. The man was caught red-handed and the child when examined confessed that for months together every day when its voice failed it was treated with the stimulant of being branded.

"Crippled children are also parked out in the city to beg. So called upcountry orphanages also bring stray children and train them to beg in the city to collect funds for their institutions. Two mentally defective girls were found to have been trained to do monkey tricks in the streets for money. Once street acrobats dangled children by their hair as they walked on tight rope; in one case an year old baby was swung by rope round its neck as the woman acrobat performed on the rope.

"There was one case of a boy who was trained to be deaf and dumb. In the Remand Home after seven weeks he gave up his training and was found to be quite sound. On one day at the Children's Aid Society the deaf and dumb boy spoke, the blind one saw and the lame one jumped: a miracle which the prophets of old could envy! The child is thus an article of trade.

"Then again take another form of child slavery. Not far from where I am addressing you there are children, boys and girls, employed in brothels as menial servants. Throughout the night they fetch things from Irani shops to their employers and only when the Vigilance Branch of the Bombay City Police raids a brothel such children are reclaimed from the life of drudgery and vice to which they have been consigned.

"Another form of child trade in the City is that of the 'Champiwalas', the professional masseurs. Most of such boys are brought out from Northern India to slave for their employers and satisfy the homosexual instincts of the under-world. They ply their trade after midnight, these poor victims of homosexuality and venereal diseases. In one night 25 champi boys were brought for admission to the Children's Aid Society. They were all from Sialkot and worked in groups for men in the worst areas of the City. The employers arranged for the boarding of these boys and lived on their wages.

“There is another form of child slavery in Bombay which is literally shocking. In Bombay tender girls or boys from Goa, Mangalore and some other South Indian towns are imported into Bombay. Their age is sometimes seven and they are employed on a salary of Rs. 2/- or 3/- per month. The child slaves from early morning till late at night, often the only servant of a large family. It has no friends or relatives. If it fails to carry out any of its numerous duties or gets ill, it is punished cruelly often by being scalded with hot water or branded with tongs or live coals; and is a victim for the sexual rapacity of any male adult in or attached to the master's family.”

Most of these cases which Mr. Munshi has taken from the records of the Children's Aid Society, Bombay, show clearly how totally different and much worse off the Indian child beggar of the 7 or 8 types touched upon here is when compared with the dependant and neglected children in Western countries.

*The Physically Defective.*—Among this type of beggars may be classed the blind, the deaf-mute, and the crippled and deformed. Besides these, there are the chronically under-nourished and those afflicted with various organic troubles, or weaknesses of the vital organs. Of the first named three outstanding types of physical handicaps, blindness seems to be the surest passport to the sympathy and purse-strings of the public. The erring, misguided and so-called charitably minded persons dole out their pennies to the blind so readily that they find it much easier and much more profitable to beg than to take to some industry after training and re-education. Neither the public nor the beggar seems to care for the schools or institutions for the blind. These institutions are hardly ever taken advantage of by the congenitally blind beggar and the one who becomes blind in old age.

The deaf-mutes again can easily be trained and absorbed in some industry or agricultural labour, but they too find the profession of begging much more remunerative. Very little thought has been given to the prevention of blindness and deaf-mutism as the blind and deaf and dumb are regarded as so handicapped from birth and the factor of later acquisition of these defects through accident, disease, old age or serious illness is ignored. There are many who can hear but cannot speak and several who can speak but cannot hear. Yet these are all indiscriminately classed as poor, handicapped, helpless persons fit only to beg. This attitude has encouraged begging to such an extent that many bogus beggars pretend to be blind, deaf or dumb, or both deaf and dumb.

The crippled and disabled constitute another very important sub-section of this type of beggars. The crippled must be distinguished from the disabled as those who are crippled in the sense of being dismembered, form a minority of those who are disabled. The Division of Re-education of the Minnesota

State Board of Control has defined a disabled person as "Any person who by reason of physical defect or deformity whether congenital or acquired by accident, injury or disease is, or may be expected to be, totally or partially incapacitated for remunerative occupation." The problems presented by the disabled child and disabled adults, while alike in many respects, differ in others. Most of the disabilities of children arise from diseases which, if treated in time, can often be cured. Some of the commonest causes of disability among crippled children are:—Infantile Paralysis, T. B. of the Bone, Spastic Paralysis, Cardiac Defects, Rickets, Amputations, Congenital Defects, Osteomyelitis, Arthritis, Obstetrical Paralysis, Sleeping Sickness, Accidents.

With the adults, injuries are more frequently the results of accidents, and there is less possibility of cure. Nevertheless, both require medical and surgical attention and care. The child needs special provision for his education while the adult frequently needs re-education. Among both adults and children are found those who may be expected to recover with little or no lasting handicap and in both groups are those who by reason of congenital defects, amputations or paralysis will always be disabled. Yet no crippled or disabled beggar in India ever dreams of seeking surgical or medical aid. In fact, he considers it his special advantage and privilege to beg and as mentioned above, not infrequently he actually causes the child to become crippled. Any loss or deformity of leg, arm, hand, foot, eye or sight is at once welcomed as an asset and exploited to the fullest to earn a livelihood by begging. Such are the perversities of the fraternity of the physically defective beggar and such the ignorance of the public who go on giving them alms instead of utilizing that very capital for establishing special institutions, hospitals and schools for medical, surgical and educational treatment of these handicapped individuals.

*The Mentally Defective and Mentally Ill.*—This type of beggars include the feeble-minded and those suffering from mental disorders. The feeble-minded may be variously grouped. On the basis of I.Q., Davies has suggested that "the nearest approach to a satisfactory definition would combine both the psychological and social elements and indicate an intelligence quotient below a certain level plus a certain deficiency in other personality traits leading to social inefficiency, as determining factors in constituting mental defect."<sup>2</sup> On the basis of pathological conditions in the nervous system and other parts of the body, the feeble-minded may be divided into (1) the microcephalic (those with abnormally small skull), (2) the hydrocephalic (those with enlarged skull and popularly known as having water in the brain), (3) the paralytic and (4) the traumatic. On the basis of educational possibilities the feeble-

<sup>2</sup> Davies, S. P. Social Control of the Feeble-minded, p. 21.

minded are divided into those requiring (1) asylum care, (2) custodial life and perpetual guardianship, (3) long apprenticeship and colony life under protection, and (4) training for a place in the world. On the basis of economic criterion the mental defectives are divided into three major groups: idiots, imbeciles and morons. Hardly any attempts have been made in India either to find out the number of feeble-minded or to group them according to any of the criteria mentioned above or to isolate them, or to locate them or to institutionalize them or to provide for their training and care with the result that the menace of the feeble-minded is getting worse. The mentally defective constitute a large proportion of the destitute, immoral, delinquent and criminal population among the beggars, and transmit their defect to their progeny. Yet our people seem to take no interest whatever in the problems presented by our mental defectives. In fact, most of them seem to be blissfully ignorant of the existence of any such problem at all.

If our people are indifferent to and ignorant of the problems of the feeble-minded beggars, they are still more apathetic to and ignorant of the problems of those suffering from mental disorders. Mental disorders such as maniac-depressive psychosis, involutional melancholia, dementia praecox, paranoia and the like are hardly ever known or thought of. Any person behaving queerly in the streets is considered insane and any manifestation of any of the above-named disorders is attributed to "insanity". Many beggars with mental disorders are allowed to rot in the streets and to lead an animal-like existence. Such a beggar may sit in one place for days together urinating and defaecating in the self-same place, and he may be covered with lice, germs, mosquitoes, flies and other vermin until some crow comes and starts pecking all over him, but no one takes any notice of him. Only when a beggar goes violently insane is he taken into custody and brought to the mental hospital. It really is a sad commentary on a nation that such a state of affairs should exist and such revolting and sordid sights should be seen and tolerated.

*The Diseased.*—Even more disgusting than the sight of the mentally deranged beggar is that of the beggars suffering from acute stages of venereal diseases, leprosy, epilepsy, T. B. and skin diseases. What is most inconceivable is the fact that hardly any attempt is made to segregate them, and they are allowed to move freely in the streets, hotels and trains to beg no matter at what highly infectious stage the disease may be. Sociologists in India often rave about the high rate of mortality, but one wonders that there are not more deaths than at present considering such unpardonably poor control of preventable diseases. A great deal can be done if a nationwide programme of prevention and cure of such diseases were adopted, but there is no education

of public opinion in this direction and the diseased beggar hardly ever has recourse to the hospital as even the disease is exploited by the beggar as a means for getting alms from the public.

*The Able-Bodied.*—Much less nauseating but far more exasperating is the able-bodied beggar. This type considers begging its birth-right and bullies, harasses and troubles the public into giving him alms. If a person happens to turn a deaf ear or to remonstrate with him for not working even though physically fit, he will turn round and use such abusive language that the person retires within his shell and makes up his mind never to address a beggar again. If offered a job he will flatly explain that he is ancestrally a beggar and as he has never worked in his life, his bones are stiffened and his constitution will not allow him to work. If caught by the police and sent to a home or work colony, he will abscond the very next day saying he has never lived within walls and must roam freely in the open. He thinks it is his ancestral birth-right to pester the public and that no one has any authority to interfere with that right. No amount of change in sociologic and economic viewpoint and system will affect him as he simply refuses to work however attractive the wages and terms offered may be. Nor are enactments adorning the statute book any good. What is needed is a thorough and efficient machinery for the enforcement of the legislation prohibiting begging and the following up of a constructive programme after the arrests have been made.

*The Religious Mendicant.*—In a country like India inhabited by millions of Hindus and Mohamedans whose religions sanction the founding of mendicant orders, the solution of the beggar problem becomes well-nigh impossible. The beggar question will never be finally and thoroughly solved till the religious heads of these two great communities cooperate whole-heartedly with the Government, the Municipality and the social work agencies. So familiar is the figure of the Sanyasi, the Yogi, the Sadhu, the Vairagi, the Fakir and the Darvesh in India with all the paraphernalia of saffron robe, wood-bead-necklace, bowl in hand etc., that it hardly needs any elaboration.

*The Bogus Religious Mendicant.*—Seeing the readiness and almost spiritual devotion with which people dole out food, grains and money to the genuine religious mendicant, many an able-bodied layman who has no affiliation with any religious order whatever but likes to get by without work, dons the garb of a Fakir or Sadhu and profits by the generosity of the unsuspecting and religiously minded orthodox people. It is practically impossible to distinguish between the genuine and the bogus since indiscriminate charity encourages this type of beggars.

*The Tribal Beggar.*—Far different from either the genuine or bogus religious mendicant is the tribal beggar. These tribes move about from place



to place singing and reciting poems and begging, and they are quite welcome in certain parts of India. This type with its traditional songs and poems is unusually free from the viciousness of the city beggar. They correspond more or less to the minstrels and are vastly different from the various criminal tribes and gypsies who travel from one town to another in caravans and who are notorious for begging, thieving and decoity. Very few places in India have criminal tribe settlements and these beggars wander from province to province establishing colonies and camps wherever they happen to halt or settle temporarily. When they come to the large cities they and their children live by begging and petty thefts. Some of the men folk try and obtain casual work whenever they can.

Among this class of tribal beggars may also be included the seasonal vagrant and the permanent vagrant. The seasonal vagrants comprise those migratory casual labourers who work on the fields or on some trade or craft in their native village during the season and in the off reason migrate to larger cities where they live on foot-paths or open maidans, and maintain themselves by begging or stealing. They seldom find work and even if they do, they are incapable of sticking to one job and before they get settled in one job, they migrate to another place. The permanent vagrants are the migratory non-workers. They are purposeless wanderers who beat their way from place to place, begging for food, getting along in any way they can and carefully avoiding rendering any useful service to the world. They travel in tribal caravans and lead a carefree existence sleeping wherever they can and eating whatever they get. Some of them wander continuously, others only at particular times or seasons and still others at irregular intervals, and whatever be the difference in their modes of migration, they are all of a class in that they are confirmed non-workers. In any scheme of social reconstruction this type would be the most difficult to tackle not only because of lack of fixed place of abode but also because of the utter depravity to which this class has sunk.

*The Employed Beggar.*—This may seem a contradiction in terms, but in India there are a large number of men and women who work night shifts in mills and factories and go out begging during the day. Very often they earn more by begging during the day than their daily wages for labour in the factories and mills at night, and thus become irregular in their attendance at work. The unsteady nature of the job and extremely poor wages often serve as an inducement to begging. Thus we have the curious phenomenon of the night labourer becoming a beggar by day. They pretend to be crippled or deformed or besmear their bodies with ashes and put on the religious mendicant's robe and go about begging as though they belonged to the class of professional beggars. Sometimes they are so skilled in the art of deceiving the

public that they outdo the professional beggar and earn more than he does.

*The Small Trade Beggar.*—This may sound even more paradoxical than the last type, for it is hard to believe that anyone engaged in trade, however petty it may be, should find it necessary to beg. Yet it is strangely enough a fact that a number of beggars have made enough money to open up small pan-bidi, vegetable, flower, grams and puffed-rice shops as side business along with their usual profession of begging. While some members attend to the sales at the shops others go out begging and each responsible member takes his turn at the shop and at begging by rotation. Perhaps there is no other country in the world where begging has proved so profitable as in India. This type of intelligent beggar makes use of his profits in carrying on small trade as a side line and making greater profits. But most of the professional beggars beg only for begging's sake, and through a peculiar psychological perversity hardly ever spend a penny on themselves. They have never known what it is to buy food or clothing. Both are procured through begging and every pie is accumulated until their death. Thus, they lead a hand-to-mouth, wretched, sordid existence in naked poverty and starvation, and finally die leaving behind them thousands of rupees to become Government property. With them begging is an end in itself. It is not a means towards bettering their condition or standard of living as in the case of the employed and small-trade beggar.

*The Temporarily Unemployed but Employable Beggar.*—Many woes of the working classes spring from irregularity of employment and from their failure in taking the necessary steps in time to undo its bad effects. This causes their energy to become intermittent; their off-days become habitual, and in the wake of indolence, intemperance springs up. Further, with uncertainty of employment comes recklessness about their future. Irregularity of employment, in its turn, is caused by fluctuations in trade, or by the periodic nature of certain occupations, or by illness, misfortune, or some exceptional incapacity. Intemperance and indolence are also the causes of much that goes by the name of want of work. These causes bring about distress among the working people; and when they do not get work in proper time, gradually they lapse into habitual indigence which forces them ultimately to have recourse to beggary. This type is amenable to social adjustment, and if sent to the native place and set to work on cottage industries at the time of temporary unemployment, may be rescued from lapsing into indigence and beggary. They may also be employed on agricultural projects, road construction and the like as they would only too gladly accept any employment.

*The Temporarily Unemployed who are Unemployable.*—Unlike the last mentioned type, this type has degenerated to the point of becoming unemployable after a temporary period of unemployment. The low wages, the unskilled

nature of the work and its growing irregularity unsettle habits of industry and at last make the men upwilling to accept steady employment. The conditions under which they live and work in industrial towns and cities contribute their share towards the breakdown of self-respect and personal pride. The overcrowding, lack of privacy and absence of nearly all facilities for decent living cannot help exercising a demoralizing influence. Their work is hard, the hours are long and the bosses order them about like so many dumb driven cattle. They then naturally are not concerned about the quality of work done and drift off the job. Gradually there is a decay of honest hard labour and the labourer deteriorates into the regular professional beggar and becomes unemployable.

*The Somewhat Permanently Unemployed who are Employable.*—This class of unemployed are those who by reason of a change in their trade or in the market, or for some other economic reason find themselves threatened by unemployment, and yet are able and willing to work. If adjustment is not made to some other trade or job many belonging to this class are generally demoralized and degenerate into beggars. If provision for those finding themselves threatened with permanent unemployment can be made promptly and well, before habits of idleness and the recklessness of discouragement have set in, the danger of breeding confirmed indolence, hopeless apathy and progressive degeneracy will often be safely averted.

*The Permanently Unemployed and Unemployable.*—This class of the unemployed is permanently out of work because for one reason or another they are too inefficient to do any type of work. In other words, to this class belong vagrants who are constantly on the look out for opportunities of obtaining food and lodging without giving work in return. Feeble-mindedness, mental diseases and various personality disorders breed this type of permanently unemployed and unemployable beggars. These include degenerates with eccentricities, epileptics, hysterical types, neurasthenics, persecuted and mystical types, those who regard themselves as apostles and prophets, and those suffering from schizophrenia, or drifting into senility. In a general way these men might be termed weaklings who having no great strength of character, lose their grip on life under the stress of some temporary misfortune. Then having found how easy it is to live without regular work they lose what little ambition they may have had and drift into the ranks of the unemployed and unemployable.

*The Permanently Unemployed who are Viciously and Incurably Unwilling to work.*—To this type belong the idle and disorderly persons, rogues and vagabonds. They comprise the semi-criminal, vicious and confirmed idlers who habitually depend on doles and charity, and finally become a danger to the

whole community. Hence the necessity of applying genuinely drastic measures to keep them under control. They have reached the lowest rung of the ladder of pauperism as the moral fibre of their personalities has become rotten to the core. No social and economic improvements, no establishment of labour colonies will be of any avail in dealing with this type. The only probable solution would be for the Government to establish Penal Labour Colonies. This does not by any manner of means imply that they should be treated like criminals. On the contrary, they need the most sympathetic care and handling. The Penal Colonies should be like psychiatric sanatoria where the treatment programme should include a balanced plan of work and healthy recreation, and provide for reasonable opportunities for the satisfaction of the most fundamental physical and psychological human needs; for, it is important never to lose sight of the fact that these paupers, however hardened they may appear, are essentially weaklings. Most of them have dwindled into their present plight because they have not had the courage to face and fight the hard battles of life. They have either fled from certain crises in their lives, or because of some misfortune become hostile to society in general and adopted anti-social ways.

As stated above no attempt has been made to delve into the nature, cause and development of the problem of begging. Nor has any solution or constructive scheme for combating the social ill been suggested except as it entered into the discussion of the various types. Nor again are all the numerous types of beggars that exist in India analysed. Some of the principal types with their sub-types are discussed with a view to acquaint the social worker with the variety of types and with the hope that in the attempt at solution of the beggar problem a scientific and intensive analysis of the various types will be undertaken as no intelligent approach can be made to the problem without a proper understanding of this very important aspect.

## MENTAL TRAITS OF BEGGARS

N. N. SEN GUPTA

In this article Dr. Sen Gupta analyses the psychological make-up of the beggar-personality and deals with the various techniques and motivations behind the begging appeal. He maintains that the three basic tendencies that go to mould the beggar personality are masochism, a dependent attitude and persistence of certain childhood tendencies. The writer concludes that these factors and the fact that the beggar's attention is bound to be unstable under the double stress of variable emotion and the ever-variable association render the beggar-personality unstable for any kind of adaptation, social and economic.

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*The Begging Appeal.*—The beggar banks upon the sentiments inherent in human nature. He subsists in an organised economic society inasmuch as his appeals elicit a sympathetic response from his fellowmen. Such sympathy, however, does not always rest on the other regarding propensities of which the moral philosopher speaks. The beggar's appeal often compels response mainly through its action on one or the other of the basic self-regarding motives. It succeeds for the reason that man proposes to purchase virtue and spiritual reward, *Punya*, in exchange for a few coppers. Many believe that even the good things of earthly life may be secured through the grace of God granted to those who render aid to the "down and out". Even a casual observation of the plaintive appeal that beggars send forth would bear out the truth of these propositions.

It is, however, true that the beggar often appeals directly to man's compassion, to his 'tender emotions' and to his sense of protectiveness. The cultivation of such sentiments has been approved by almost all classes of religion. The subjective processes that the begging appeal elicits are thus sanctified by religious doctrine and moral code. But behind all of these is the motive of securing social health, the impulse of the individual to cover up the ugly sore that social and perhaps biologic maladjustment produce.

The beggar thus attempts to touch the personality at all its vulnerable points. He appeals to your religious sentiments, to your sense of dependence on Divine grace when he shouts "May God give you happiness" (*Tumko parmātmā sukhi rakhey, bābā*); he appeals to you as a parent when he blesses your children (*Tumhārā bāl bācchā sukhi rahey*); he appeals to your sense of greed when untold wealth and even a kingdom is promised to you in exchange for a pice, and seeks your protection for himself and his starving family; and finally he tells you of his illness, hard luck, bereavement and utter desti-

tution. The begging appeal traverses the entire region of motives from the lofty theological sentiments to contemptuous pity of the superior for the inferior, from greed for spiritual bliss to greed for material and social success, from love of one's own children to the desire for avoidance of an ugly sight. Success of beggary, therefore, presupposes a high degree of emotional naïveté and some surplus cash among people in general. It presupposes several other motives—a desire to avoid the sight of pain and suffering, a belief in sympathetic magic, a desire to get something at a low cost and a sense of superiority. A simple question 'Why do you give money to a street beggar?' brought out the following replies:—

<i>Answers</i>				<i>No. of persons</i>
I may be in the same position...	...	...	...	8
I feel distressed	...	...	...	5
They deserve something for their good wishes	...	...	...	2
Somebody must look after them	...	...	...	6
It is enjoined by religion	...	...	...	1
One must look beyond one's own needs	...	...	...	2
I felt like giving something	...	...	...	1
No particular reason	...	...	...	1
Total				26

*The Psycho-physical Technique of the Appeal.*—An attempt in order to be effective must (1) attract attention, (2) appeal to emotion, (3) impress the need of the beggar upon the mind of his patrons. The beggar utilises three types of technique in his appeals. I shall describe these under three headings: the variable technique, the stereotypes and the situation.

*The Variable Techniques.*—The meaning conveyed by begging appeal may be rendered more effective with the aid of certain subsidiary factors. The same hard-luck tale brings more coppers when it is associated with occasional sobs and sighs than when it is a continuous whine. The successful beggar must be a good actor; he must vary his speech and demeanour with the normal procession of changes that characterise mental life. Thus intonation, facial expressions and general bodily posture, must undergo alteration as they do for people in grief and agony. These transform the meaning that the beggar seeks to convey in his appeal and render the latter pointedly personal to each passer-by just as the actor makes the members of his audience feel that his elocution carries a personal message to each. A turning of the eyes, a slight shift in posture, slight rise and fall of pitch of the voice and the lines of long-dead Shakespeare come to life.

*The Stereotypes.*—The same thing is true of begging appeals. The old tales heard in childhood, the precepts transmitted from the early days of society, the myths of fairies, gods and demons that assume queer human shapes—all stir in our breast when we listen and yield to the beggar's plaintive wails. The actor fails when his voice gives an impression of hard memory-work; the beggar fails when he takes recourse to *stereotypes* of voice and intonation, of gesture and facial contortions, of bodily posture and movement.

There is always a temptation for the beggar to take to stereotypes. Lodged on the wayside the beggar sees the stream of humanity pass by in a never-ending succession. He scans a face here and there only to meet with a blank look of dismal unconcern. He does not wish them to return; each face passes on even as the wavelets in the stream pass on never to return. It is not necessary for the beggar, therefore, to try to variegate his voice and gesture; they fall on new ears, new eyes and new minds. To render the begging appeal into stereotypes is to economise energy. I purchased for a two-anna piece the confidence of a familiar figure on the Lucknow foot-path: "Who cares for how we ask! You the lucky ones don't give us money because you feel for us. You give us a pice or two because God prompts you and because you don't miss what you give". A strain of disdainful fatalism may be discerned almost directly behind the voice that begs.

*The Situation.*—Yet the beggar is not slow to seize upon special occasions and geographical situations. Once I followed a particular beggar from temple to temple at Benares. He is never loth to sing to the praise of the presiding deity. The same person who seems to be a devout *vaishnava* in front of one temple is transferred into a *shakta* before another. One other embarrassing trick of some of the knights of the begging bowl is to pose as victims of starvation and disease just in front of sweet shops and small hotels. Those who feel the gnawing of hunger are bound to relent to others from sheer fellow-feeling. One of these persons could form almost a bowl of his belly stooping down and making an arch of the entire abdominal cavity. This was intended to show that his system was entirely empty of food. A rapid flow of words, a keen perception of the situation, certain forms of physical posture, like the one described above, and also certain common *yogic* postures make specialists of common beggars. Skill in the use of the psychophysical techniques of intonation and pitch variation, emotional expressions, facial contortions, bodily postures, the ability to match the flow of words with situations and finally quickness in the perception of the possibilities of an environment enter into calculation in making a success of begging.

*The Personality of City Beggars.*—The personality of the beggar, his temper, outlook and technique change from place to place. The city beggar

Has his own beat, own clients and probably also his house. He solicits a variety of patrons and must win success in keen competition. He must, therefore, be a person of somewhat higher intellectual powers. He must be able to direct all the weapons in his armoury to the vulnerable spots of his patron's personality. For instance, a beggar at a religious centre or on religious occasions must be able to give a religious touch to his garb and his ideology. He must also stress the relation between giving charity and the particular religious festival. I have heard beggars make references to obscure incidents mentioned in the *Puranas* in order to stress the value of charity on the particular occasion. Another festival, another scene and an entirely new personality emerges.

There are certain places which through tradition have bred a specific type of beggar-personality. I have particularly in my mind the district of Nadia, near the place where Chaitanya Deva was born, which naturally perpetuates the tradition of beggary as a road to holiness. The beggars of the district are thus the most impertinent in the whole of Northern India. They are aggressive and often assume a threatening attitude on meeting with refusal.

These descriptions are intended to show that the outward forms of the beggar-personality carry the impress of the city and the village, of traditions and economic settings of life. These are surface-characters that appear on the background of a durable personality-type the nature of which I propose to consider here. We have seen in the preceding sections that there is one or the other of the five principal *motifs* in the begging appeals, namely, (1) Religious sanctification, (2) *Punya* or moral merit-making for better fate in the next world, (3) Blessings in the present life, (4) Compassion and (5) Personal responsibility for making provision for the helpless. These motives are combined into various forms of appeal which beggar personalities of different types employ. We shall describe these personalities as A, B, C, D and E type.

To the *A-type* belongs the personality of the religious mendicant who stresses the giving of alms as a religious duty. The beggar is doing you a favour by giving you an opportunity of doing your duty. He is not asking a favour of you. This motive is usually strengthened by a promise of blessings that your act of charity will secure for you even in your present life. It makes for a personality characterised by both intelligence and vigour.

To the *B-type* belong those who stress mainly the promise of earthly gains and moral merit in the next world in exchange for charity. The personality is characterised by intelligence, though apologetic in its general tone.

The *C-type* of personality employs the technique of the B-type but it stresses the factor of compassion. It appeals to the softer side of your nature, to your sympathy and protectiveness. It presents the profile of a helpless and yet clever personality.



The *D-type* appeals to compassion and expresses its *utter dependence* upon you for provision. It seemingly shows a picture of helplessness, utter misery due to poverty, starvation and disease. The feeling of utter dependence marks it out from the two preceding types.

The *E-type* is a personality which is actually helpless, the cripple, the blind the paralysed and the leper. People in this group sometimes mumble out their appeal. More often they are silent. The physical picture is enough to convince anyone of their needs. They are often used by cleverer persons for collecting charities very little of which is used for the maintenance of these unfortunates. All of these types are found in a flourishing city and require different types of treatment and social provision.

*The Psychological Make-up of City Beggars*.—We have attempted in the previous part of our discussion to derive the general conception of the beggar-personality from the appeals that are made and from the nature of the motives that the supplicant attempts to stimulate in his patron. It is also possible to deduce certain conclusions in regard to the basic mental constitution of these individuals. The more solvent members of beggars' profession possess certain characters in common with the confidence-trick men and actors. The more intelligent persons stand in fact midway between these two classes with respect to their mental constitution.

Seen from the perspective of psychology many of the beggars are quick-change artists. Their voice changes from a high pitched moan to almost a whining sigh; their ideas change from heavenly bliss which they offer you to thoughts of a few coppers which they are willing to receive; and their sentiments descend from the altitude of high benediction to low-level supplication. These are signs of great plasticity of emotions, of a large range within which they may change in quality and intensity alike. Such emotional fluctuation in its turn is bound to influence the course of ideas. For, each emotional set releases attitudes and ideas of a particular order.

It is not surprising to find therefore that beggars of the upper class can react to each occasion and even each group of persons with a specified set of ideas. For each external environment appeals primarily to the emotional instinctive side and the emotional set, and brings the relevant word-associations to bear upon the situation. This phenomenon is sometimes appraised as intelligence; in reality it exhibits merely a highly developed capacity of association. It represents the character of the 'con' man, the demagogue and the upper class beggar. I had an opportunity to test the capacity of association of a boy of 17 who is an intelligent-looking youngster living mainly by beggary in the bazaar. The following results were obtained when certain situations were suggested. The number of associations is compared to those of an

average High School boy of the same age-group. The beggar is called A and the school boy B. Time given was 3 minutes for each item :—

Imaginary situation	A			B		
	Abstract virtues	Emotionally toned words	Entreaties and supplication	Abstract virtues	Emotionally toned words	Entreaties and supplication
Before a temple ...	17	13	9	5	4	2
Bathing ghat ...	22	9	11	6 (?)	2	3
Bazaar ...	31	17	8	9	5	2
Before a house of festivity.	24	14	10	11	8	3

Each imaginary situation was suggested and the boys one after the other were asked to beg a few coppers of imaginary patrons wishing them well, appealing to their pity and addressing words of entreaty and supplication. The beggar beat the school boy hollow as he was used to this art while the school boy was merely straining his imagination.

A similar phenomenon was observed in the case of three beggar boys who beg on the public thoroughfare of a large city. Each was promised that twice the amount found on each would be given if they participated in a 'game'. Each taken apart from the other was asked to whine out his appeal which was all the time being taken down. Roughly speaking, the boy who had earned most was found to be able to give a much longer chain of word-associations before he stopped for breath. I am also of opinion that the successful beggar exhibits a maximal degree of expressive changes, facial and gestural, in the course of begging. This would be in consonance with the hypothesis that at the root of successful begging lies a highly plastic emotional temperament. Emotion prompts ideas on the one hand, and the expressive changes on the other. This would also be in keeping with the view that the beggar in his mental make-up is an adept at impersonation. He can vary his emotional set of words and expressions to suit the changing external conditions, and can lend shape to his thoughts in long chains of associations and to his passing sentiments in the expressive changes.

We may deduce from the analysis that the beggar possesses a certain degree of intelligence which expresses itself in association. It does not show a capacity of abstract reasoning nor of thinking out problems but of sizing up a situation in terms of a chain of past experience. We may say that the beggar in this sense exhibits an order of intelligence which is slowly but surely superseded by growth, culture, social life and economic adjustment.

We may also conclude that the beggar exhibits a certain deficiency in durable *emotional-ideational-motor orientation* to the situations that daily life precipitates. Our mind lays its firm grasp on a situation when emotions, ideas and action-attitudes are all directed to it. The passing scenes are thus 'fixed' like a photographic print for present and future use. If emotions be shifting the ideas and action-attitudes fail in their grasp; perceptions do not leave a precipitate for future use. The normal coordination of emotions, ideas and action does not endure largely because of a high degree of plasticity of emotions. Such want of coordination again drags down the personality below the level at which adjustment may be effective.

It is possible to think of several steps below the plane at which social and economic failure occurs. The initiative exhibited by the more successful beggar may diminish; the appeals, their expressions, in words and gesture, may become stereotyped. The words may eternally repeat themselves throwing the beggar's mind into a haze and rendering his picturesque language into a sorry drone. People cease to note and fewer coppers are thrown into the bowl. We can further think of the beggar as a whining machine which is no longer capable of soliciting favours. People give only for avoiding irritation and unpleasantness. The lesser the mental plasticity and variability of behaviour, the lower is the income from begging. Mental plasticity, variability of behaviour and at the same time the development of certain durable patterns of behaviour indicate successful adjustment and intelligence. The low-grade beggar represents a failure in both of these directions.

*Evaluation of the Mental Status.*—It is a persistent belief in the mind of virtuous people that confirmed beggars may be reclaimed for normal economic life. The idea is false in a great number of cases. The beggar, as we have seen, most often possesses an order of intelligence that expresses itself in the form of association. The processes of thinking cannot cut through the wall of associative experience and its verbal expression. Whatever alters the course of association also modifies the course of thinking. The driving power behind a chain of association, as the free association method of the psychoanalyst has shown, is emotion. Hence, the intellectual life of a beggar is a weather-lock driven by emotion.

The beggar, however, cultivates a whole series of emotions each quality playing its brief rôle and ushering in a new chain of ideas. Hence, attention is bound to be unstable under the double stress of variable emotion and the ever-variable association. These factors render the personality unstable for any kind of durable adaptation, social and economic. Underlying these and imparting the particular shape that the beggar-personality assumes, are three deep and basic tendencies, namely, *masochism*, *a dependent attitude* and *persist-*

ence of certain childhood tendencies. I shall briefly consider each of these.

*Masochism* is the trait that makes it pleasurable for a person to suffer a certain degree of physical pain. The definition may sound like a paradox but it represents nevertheless a fundamental trait of the self. We are all more or less sadists and masochists. The border line of normal life is crossed when the balance of the two is disturbed and one predominates to an unusual degree. The perpetual hard-luck story, the whine and the sob which constitute the stock-in-trade of the beggar are expressions of deep-lying *masochism*. A true sadist would not be a beggar; he would be a robber if physically competent. The persistence in the profession so humiliating is often due to an enduring and dominant masochistic strain.

Secondly, there are certain persons who are always *dependent* on some one else. It may perhaps be due to the manner of bringing up of the child or due to the social status of the family. It may be, in other words, an induced character. So far as the individual is concerned the trait is durable. Such sense of dependence translates men into perpetual dependents and therefore into beggars. The experiment has yet to be tried whether the child beggar could be purged of his sense of dependence. But if we cannot remove the other traits that go to build up the beggar-personality we may change him into a thief or a robber. The experiment, however, is worth trying.

The third factor that weaves all mental functions into the beggar-personality is the *persistence of childhood traits*. This may be due to the manner of bringing up, early illness or a permanent disability. It keeps one part of the mind permanently on the childhood level. That is why the beggar always assumes in his appeals the attitude and terminology, and at times even the lisping of the child. I have observed in Lucknow at least six clear instances of such lisping. This part of the mind that forgets to grow up keeps the adult tied to the apron-strings of an imaginary parent. The appeal that the beggar sends forth is always to this parent-personality which is invested in whoever may come to assistance.

The beggar-personality is thus born of certain persistent mental factors. These twist all the mental functions into a new type of personality—a personality that finds pleasure in pain, is always dependent and childlike. Naturally enough it would fail in economic adjustment from the very beginning. Absence of institutions that may correct these disorders accentuates these weaknesses. The individual gradually turns into a sub-economic and sub-social creature.

*General Conclusion.*—Biologists speak of vestigial remains that hark back to the remote past. The appendix is normally harmless; it may however assume a pathological form. The beggar represents vestigial remains of

the social past. He carries his intelligence very often to the plane in which men had to recall the entire past through association in order to discover a little hint for new adaptation. The tendency appears in childhood where thought pursues the tortuous route of associative connections. It appears again in dotage when men bore their fellow-beings with long drawn out tales of other days. Several of the primitive peoples are said to dwell on this mental plane. The beggar seems to represent a case of mental atavism; his is a personality that fits in better with the less differentiated tribal scheme in which all may claim a share for sustenance.

The beggar is a throw-back to childhood in his sense of dependence and in his child-parent attitude towards his patrons. He thinks like a child and feels like a child. He often employs all the obvious tricks of the child bent on getting something out of the parent. He represents an immature personality also in his sentiments. He is emotionally naïve and labours under the delusion that his own subjective states must necessarily infect others. He has stopped short in the process of mental growth.

The beggar represents the persistence of childhood trends in another respect. He has a profound belief in sympathetic magic. He believes that his curses and blessings must in the long run prove effective. This is not a pose. I have had conversation with more than a dozen of beggars on this point. They believe sincerely in the idea. This again represents a mental throw-back. The beggar in the matter of his social adaptation represents an early social order. He belongs to the community and comes forward wherever there is a gathering of the community; he has an imperfectly developed sense of self-hood. The response made by his fellow-beings also represents certain naïve mental attitudes, the attitude of the benevolent father, the sentiment of the mother towards a child that persists in its demands, the attitude of the strong towards the weak.

These sentiments and outlooks yield personal satisfaction. Do they solve the beggar problem? It is necessary to reclaim the child beggar so that he outgrows the mental plane that ties him to the city bazaar and pavement. It is necessary to reclaim the adult from exhibiting his sense of dependence and his masochism. The task of society does not end in offering the needed relief alone. It must prevent the mental infection from spreading and affecting the growing children and the borderland personality. For nothing spreads so insidiously as a mental infection conveyed by words and gestures. The end may be achieved only by a provision of institutions that offer to the beggar the environment that he needs and the treatment that may keep both him and society in healthy isolation from each other.

## CAUSES OF BEGGARY

### RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

"By far the most frequent cause of beggary is the increasing proportion by which workers displaced from the land cannot find employment or subsistence," writes Dr. Mukerjee. But in addition to this displaced worker, there are the physically handicapped, the blind, the deaf mutes, etc., who also take to begging. Dr. Mukerjee, therefore, rightly maintains that "the root causes be analysed and understood, and that society in India launch forth a programme of prevention rather than amelioration of human inadequacy and suffering as a national concern".

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**B**EGGARY is a symptom of social disorganisation and the widespread custom of alms-giving by individuals and institutions has been the method by which the disability, helplessness or social inadequacy of the beggars has been sought to be mitigated in India. Yet this very time-honoured practice of helping the homeless and the helpless has served society to wink at the grave personal and social maladjustments that cause beggary. Modern conscience demands that the root causes be analysed and understood, and that society in India launch forth a programme of prevention rather than amelioration of human inadequacy and suffering as a national concern.

Obviously the most common cause of beggary in India is the loss of agricultural employment in the villages. For several decades the number of landless workers deprived of subsistence from the land has been steadily rising. All landless individuals cannot be absorbed in industrial employment. Driven from the villages into cities and towns, some work as earth-diggers and road-menders or as domestic servants and coolies in the markets. Others prefer beggary to work that often brings less income and subsistence. For an Indian every profession or occupation, high or low, develops its inchoate social organisation, resembling some kind of a guild which gives protection to the new beggars, whether able-bodied, disabled or diseased men, women or children.

It is the gang or guild life of the beggars in the big cities and towns of India that makes easy the transition from independent, though precarious, livelihood to pauperism in this country. For the gang or the guild trains persons how and where to beg, acts as a foster-parent to children that are deliberately maimed in order to evoke sympathy of passers-by in the streets, and, generally speaking, looks after their welfare. India has had for centuries this shadowy organisation which has its Sirdars or capitalists and a large number of intermediaries, the ramifications of whose business extend to distant villages and hamlets. They arrange for beggars' accommodation in some

slum or tenement and advance them food, cash or dirty clothes from day to day, their wage-earners bringing home every evening the hard day's collection of alms from the different *muhallas* of the city, so that they all have a share in the gains of this organised beggary. It is an underworld about which educated India knows little, a world in which there are cruel exploitation, poignant tragedy and sometimes noble heroism.

By far the most frequent cause of beggary is the increasing proportion by which workers displaced from the land cannot find employment or subsistence. In Bihar alone there are 39.7 lakhs of agricultural workers, the number having increased by 19% between 1921 and 1931. These now constitute 19% of the total agricultural population of the province. Similarly, in the U. P. the agricultural labourers number about 34 lakhs, an increase of almost 10 lakhs since 1921. All these having lost holdings cannot find a regular employment either in the villages or in the cities and towns to which they migrate. Years of drought or of high prices swell the number of those who starve and beg for food first, it may be, in the villages or near-by towns and then in the distant cities. Calcutta and Bombay are full of migrant beggars. For the beggar often has a free journey by train or steamer or earns as he proceeds by stages. India's traditional method of charity which is enjoined by religion keeps him both alive and mobile.

On the whole throughout India the number of beggars comes to a considerable figure, about 14 lakhs, as counted in the census of 1931, half of whom may be estimated to be able-bodied. Recently due to the increase of population as well as general worsening of the economic situation the number of beggars must have considerably increased, while due to the latter cause the wells of private charity are drying up. Though rich charitable merchants, land-lords, and shopkeepers still set apart some day or days in the week for alms-giving, an increasing proportion of the beggars has, however, to depend for their food and succour on dharamsalas, chowtries, maqbaras and gurdwaras that still continue to dispense alms and food. A greater proportion of beggars now seen flocking near the bazaars, important shops and streets cannot obtain alms as adequately as before the present economic stress. Yet they ply their trade of eliciting sympathy from householders, shopkeepers and passers-by with a patience born of long endurance and suffering that can be found only among the paupers of the East.

The bulk of the people who are able-bodied and yet are driven to alms-begging are the landless. But the great majority of the beggars in the country are persons who have been disabled by physical or mental deficiency. The blind persons number in India 601,370 as compared with 114,000 in U.S.A. The blind represent 172 per lakh of population in India as compared

with 66 deaf mutes, 42 lepers and 34 insane. The deaf mutes number on the whole 230,895 in India as compared with 57,084 in the U.S.A. According to the census the lepers number 147,911. But a more reliable estimate puts down the figure at at least a million. The number of insane persons is 98,449. All these are staggering figures given in the census of 1931. In the census of 1941 the defectives have not been counted.

Most such defectives who live in the villages are sooner or later reduced to beggary. The country's economic structure is such that it cannot afford the surplus for maintaining the helpless, nor are there social institutions for amelioration, treatment and constructive work.

Few cities in India maintain statistics of beggars. In 1931 Bombay and Calcutta reported as having as many as 5025 and 3266 beggars respectively. Lucknow, we have estimated, has about 2000 beggars of whom the lepers alone account for 400. A case study of beggars is necessary before we can definitely analyse and classify the unfavourable economic and social situations that give rise to vagrancy and beggary.

Lucknow is the only city in British India that has made beggary an offence that is punishable by detention in a Poor House established by the Social Service League of the city and recognised for the purpose of detention by its municipality. We have been keeping records of the cases of beggars and truants since the establishment of the Poor House in March, 1941. For nearly 2 years the Poor House was the refuge of the homeless and the helpless, who came voluntarily for subsistence and medical care. On 16th March 1948, the first arrests of beggars were made in the city. There was also another round in April. We, therefore, have data in respect of both voluntary entry and compulsory detention. Out of 38 inmates of the Poor House before detention was enforced, 7 were able-bodied persons. The majority of the inmates were disabled due to blindness, disease, old age and accidents. Since the enforcement of the Act we have had in all 26 cases out of whom only 4 are able-bodied. In all Indian cities the proportion of able-bodied beggars is of course very much larger. The reason for the small number of able-bodied inmates in the Lucknow Poor House is that the municipal announcement by beat of drum scared and drove away a large number of beggars from the city, especially the able-bodied ones. The majority of the present inmates are blind, disabled, diseased and feeble-minded. As many as 9 cases exhibit mental defect of some kind or other. The percentage which is 34.5 is rather high and is a matter to be pondered over.

Morons, sexual perverts and emotionally unstable and insane persons form a high proportion of the beggar population in every city in India. The callousness with which modern Indian cities permit insane persons to go



about naked and to feed on street garbage is disgraceful. There are also the borderline cases of half normal and half abnormal or subnormal individuals who fail to obtain a satisfactory social adjustment. Some are ugly looking or have suffered from hideous sores that have subjected them to teasing and bullying from childhood. Rebuffs have driven such frustrated individuals to the underworld where they obtain status. All such individuals show major emotional disturbances that have made them misfits in their families and social situations. Driven out of their old milieu, with its group controls and standards, they drift into a happy-go-lucky, irresponsible life in which work and begging interpolate, with the latter gradually gaining ascendancy. Some become addicts to opium and cocaine in order to stabilize themselves in their vagrancy; others grow sentimental and accept new family responsibilities even as beggars by becoming foster-parents to children picked up from the slums where they live together. All such psychopathic types of beggars demand sympathy, scientific attention and institutional care.

Then there are the incurables, beggars suffering from diseases that will kill them in the long run. Only a few cities in India like Calcutta and Bombay have homes for the incurables. Most Indian cities permit the incurables, who are either refused admission to a hospital or are expelled by it, to die on the streets like dogs. The incurables form not a negligible proportion of the beggar population in every town who drag on a life of agony and disseminate disease.

Among the beggar inmates it is found that the blind fraternize, aiding one another in their daily rounds and pooling their resources. I have also found the blind marrying each other and their daughter who is feeble-minded being again married to a blind person. This perpetuates beggary as a profession. An old blind woman's daughter who earns as a maid-servant in some one's household and wears a silver neck-piece appeared before the Revision Board for release of her mother, promising us that she would be supported by her and would not beg. Thus the Lucknow Act has served to restore family affection and unity even among the submerged classes. Family breakdown or quarrel among the parents has led to the truancy of boys some of whom have become our inmates. Desertion by the husband is also a cause of beggary of women when immorality fails to give them subsistence. Many beggars are engaged in petty theft or in a nefarious traffic in girls. Some inmates have on medical examination been found to suffer from venereal diseases. Among the beggars who have been arrested, we have found that their earnings average only 4 as. per diem. The largest amount found in possession with them is Rs. 2/14/-. Thus the city of Lucknow was spending on an average Rs. 500/- a day for the support of its beggar population. One

of them is an opium addict for whom the Poor House has to provide every day.

The most difficult of the beggar cases are, of course, the lepers. Leprosy, with its accompanying disablement, disfigurement and social opprobrium, is one of the principal causes of beggary in India and is at the same time the most difficult to handle. Many lepers roam about markets, cinemas and theatres infecting innocent passers-by. Others are burnt-out, but it is both risky and unpopular to keep the leper-beggars in the same house of detention. The Lucknow Poor House is taking steps to provide special accommodation for them.

There is another class of beggars upon whom beggary is enforced. These are orphans and waifs and strays who are sometimes deliberately maimed or disfigured in order that their guardians, the beggars, may earn their living. In the world of beggars children are mortgaged and sold in broad daylight. The more horrid and the more pathetic looking the child, the greater is its price. And if it fails to attract the passers-by by its piteous cries it is tortured into more successful imploring and begging by their step-parents. Many normal parents also trade on their children's natural infirmities using these as sources of supplementary income. And who would take to beggary as the normal occupation with greater ease and alacrity than the children of the beggars, normal and bright or hereditarily tainted, diseased and stunted specimens of humanity. Nothing short of a Children's Act can protect such children and remove them from the streets. Finally, there are the religious beggars whose numbers are legion and who would yet for some time defy detention or institutional care and treatment.

As there are different causes and situations of beggary the institutional treatment has to be adjusted to the different categories of beggars. Thus the Poor House of a big city should have an Infirmary for the decrepit, disabled and diseased and others suffering from non-infectious diseases. It should have a section for lepers and other beggars suffering from infectious or contagious diseases. It should also have a department for the child beggars who must be taught to read and write and become self-supporting. And, finally, there should be a work-house or an agricultural colony for the able-bodied ne'er-do-wells who live by lying and black-mailing, whose example discourages all poor honest workers and who must be taught a new dignity and means of livelihood.

Unremunerative agriculture, poverty, unemployment and disruption of joint family and of caste control are the major causes of increase of beggary in India. India neglects 600,000 of her blind, 250,000 of her deaf and dumb, 100,000 of her insane and 1,000,000 of her lepers. At the same time she permits them to multiply without any law of sterilization of the

hereditarily unfit and tainted. Private charity can no longer be left to deal spasmodically and without understanding the colossal problems of the homeless, the helpless and the hopeless in society. Nor should the state be chary today in accepting the obligations of social service through its own departments. For spontaneous private charity and compassion which the ancient religion and social code inculcate can no longer be relied upon for grappling with a mass phenomenon. Nor can the individual undertake to accomplish what institutions can do in respect of both amelioration and prevention of human inadequacy and suffering. To neglect the calls of organised philanthropy and institutional treatment is to make human life which is already so cheap in India yet cheaper, so that it will spill more lavishly and destructively on all sides, transforming the Indian town-dweller into a more hard-hearted and cynical creature than he is today.

## BEGGARS—A MENACE TO PUBLIC HEALTH

B. C. DAS GUPTA

In this article the author deals with the main types of diseased beggars and shows how they serve as foci of infection to those that come close enough for contact. This social evil, he fears, has assumed epidemic proportions in some places from the public health point of view. In a thought-provoking manner, he traces, though briefly, the main features of the beggar problem as bearing on public health.

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**I**N big cities, at fairs and festivals in India, where large congregations of people occur, nay, even in some villages, it is a common sight to notice armies of beggars and loafers of all ages and sexes seeking alms and charities from people. Begging is not always a question of poverty nor is it altogether a matter of a lucrative and easy-going profession discovered by malingerers and able-bodied but lazy men and women. It constitutes a very complex social problem at the root of which can be traced a multitude of causes that conspire to produce this remarkable individual "the Beggar". It is also intimately related with other social problems such as intemperance, unemployment, poverty, crippling diseases, leprosy, lack of provision for old age etc., so that its solution requires a good deal of thought and care on the part of the social students and reformers. Furthermore, in a country like ours, whose religious sanction the formation of mendicant orders and also prescribe charity and sympathy for mankind for one's own elevation, the problem of beggary assumes greater complications.

Sentiments of charity are not however peculiar to India alone. In the Western countries too it had been urged by eminent writers that in giving alms enquiry as to the necessity of the person helped should not enter into one's mind. God does not look so much upon the merits of the man who requires the help as into the manner of him that gives and if the man does not deserve it, the gift has been made to humanity. Again, another eminent English author states that if an outwardly and visibly poor creature comes to you for alms do not stay to enquire if the facts of the case are true, if those in whose name he implores the help have a real existence or not. It is good to believe him. Shakespeare, the immortal poet, has sung of mercy in a tone of matchless beauty in the English language:

"The quality of mercy is not strained;  
It droppeth like gentle rain from Heaven;  
It is twice blessed.  
It blesseth him that gives and him that takes."

Thus at all times in human history the sentiment of sympathy and charity has played a prominent part in the social composition of both the individual and the community alike. Even so it is today. Whether in all instances it "blesseth him that gives, and him that takes", man has not bothered to pause and ponder. Hence much of the beggar problem that subsists on such sentiments continues to exist and thrive.

Whether the root cause is economic, social or religious, or a combination of all of them it is not the object of this article to discuss. Neither is it our purpose to assess their proportionate importance in the creation of the problem. The immediate object is to view this social evil which in some places, it is feared, has assumed epidemic proportions from the public health point of view. But in all investigations of health problems the causative factors and their peculiarities determine to a great extent the magnitude, the possibilities of their growth and expansion and finally the lines of prevention. Therefore, in discussing the epidemiology of the beggar problem—if I may coin the phrase—it is but necessary that we should touch though lightly upon the types of beggars and their pathogenesis and then consider their full bearing and effects upon the public health of the country.

The beggars met with in cities or in pilgrim centres may be classified mainly under the following heads:—(1) The destitute, (2) the homeless aged, (3) the crippled, the maimed, and the blind etc., (4) religious mendicants, (5) the lepers and the diseased persons suffering from infectious diseases, with sores and ulcers covered with plasters on which myriads of flies settle and feed, (6) children trained by organised bodies or by unscrupulous parents into the profession of begging, (7) able-bodied but lazy people who roam about in the cities, beg by day, and turn into thieves and robbers by night and become a menace to society, and finally, (8) professional orphans.

It is not possible to go into the question of determining the extent to which each of the above categories constitutes a definite menace to the public health of the locality where it is found. It can be stated without fear of contradiction that one of the main reasons why these beggars appear intolerable and obnoxious is that they are a serious nuisance to the people whom they pester with persistence for alms in the streets, at the railway stations and at all places where people collect.

It is undoubtedly annoying to be bothered by beggars when you are in a hurry to catch a train, tram or bus, when your mind is occupied with serious matters of business or work, to be followed for miles by urchins with dirty bodies and clothes when you are out for a walk in fresh air. If this aspect of the beggar problem could be mitigated, if begging in public streets could be reduced, the nuisance, even though it would remain in its fundamental

aspects, would not be so intolerable.

As mentioned above the beggar nuisance is more localised in big cities, in railway stations and in the pilgrim centres. It is not uncommon to find, especially when travelling in the third class railway compartments, beggars with loathsome deformities and infectious diseases crawling out of the space below the seats when the train is in motion and all the danger of being put out is over. They travel without tickets by night and hide themselves when the train halts at big stations lest they be found out by the checkers and forced out of the compartment. Sometimes even when detected, the usual sympathy of the checker and also of some passengers stands him in good stead and the journey is continued without trouble. In most instances of beggars with loathsome diseases, this is the usual way they enter into acity, where for want of adequate law or lax working of it such as it exists, they settle down in this profession of begging with impunity. The larger the city and the population, and more numerous the industries, the larger will be the strength of beggars.

Let us now consider the problem of beggars as a whole and see in what manner they form a menace to the public health of the locality.

The majority of beggars live on slender means, and more often are without a home. The foot-paths of the city of Bombay will bear witness to this fact. A considerable amount of overcrowding in rooms in certain sections of the city is due to a large number of beggars sharing one room just for the shelter at night, particularly in the monsoon. When foot-paths and open spaces serve as shelters and sleeping places, the filthy condition created through absence of sanitary facilities can be better imagined than described. Diseases of the intestines become rampant and they spread without check to others in the same locality through flies. In spite of the fact that many of them live in open air, if a random survey were made of the beggars of all ages, it would not be surprising if a large percentage were found suffering from all stages of tuberculosis due to malnutrition and insanitary living conditions. These beggars in turn become definite mobile sources of tuberculosis in the city and disseminate the disease by indiscriminate spitting. Unlike an ordinary house-holder, they do not seek hospital treatment as confinement in an institution for any length of time would deprive them of the freedom of the trade. Moreover, the possibility of invoking charitable consideration on the strength of such physical illness is greater and hence the usual tendency on their part to make use of the chronic illness for securing larger alms. While this goes on, the danger to the public increases every day. Overcrowding, be it on foot-paths or in sheltered homes, leads to the spreading of various infections and often to low moral life ending in venereal diseases. Not infrequently

cases come to the city-clinics for treatment of venereal diseases contracted from the professional beggars. This particularly applies to the able-bodied beggars who have not got the remotest excuse for begging.

It is a common experience of the city health authorities to find epidemic diseases among the road-side cases who, till they are removed to hospital, serve as foci of infection to those that come close enough for contact. In the early stage of some diseases, when the signs are not too obvious on him and the beggar is on his feet plying his trade, he is a veritable source of infection to those whom he approaches for alms. Cases of measles, chicken-pox, and small-pox have often occurred in this manner.

I have already referred to the travel of diseased beggars by railroad. Infection from such beggars may not only spread to the fellow-passengers, but the possibilities of infection being imported from one locality into another through them, are great. These beggars acquire an infection at a fair or pilgrim centre and transmit it to a fresh locality hitherto untouched by the disease.

Old age is not an unmitigated blessing, but often from the point of view of the community, a serious social question. If there is no community programme aiming at safeguarding and protecting old age, it may lead to begging, examples of which are quite common in the cities. Although old age in beggars by itself constitutes no danger, this is a period of life when diseases of public health importance get a strong foot-hold in the individual and thus assume serious proportions. Cancer is a disease of old age and not infrequently one comes across beggars with cancerous ulcers and sores seated in a crowded place imploring alms from passers-by. In a like manner, infective sores and ulcers, an exhibition of which is often made in the hope of exciting sympathetic response from the public, are, apart from the question of their disgusting sight, definitely risky to public health. Aside from the danger of infection the sight of these loathsome diseases often produces a definitely detrimental psychic effect upon the mind, and not uncommonly causes neurosis and anorexia.

I have already referred to the insanitary living conditions of the beggars in general. Insanitary conditions lead to verminous state and ailments such as scabies, lousiness, relapsing fevers amongst the beggars, particularly in beggar children. In these days of war and rapid communications with different parts of the world, lousiness may lead to a very serious disease called typhus. When these beggars keep pestering the public for gifts and alms the danger of such infection being communicated to the public—a cruel return for the kindness shown—is indeed great. Owing to insanitary conditions and habits of living, the gypsies and other nomadic tribes that often come in numbers to the cities for the greater part of the year and live by

begging form endemic foci of diseases and sources of danger to the locality where they settle down in large colonies.

Lepers whom the public loathe the most to see in streets and at street-corners, form into groups of beggars. They throng in numbers in all seasons and at all crowded places. They form a problem by themselves, both from the point of view of health and of the profession of begging. I shall refer to them separately later.

The crippled, the maimed and the blind are a class of beggars who have no special public health significance, excepting a general nuisance owing to the insanitary conditions and habits of living; they cannot be called dangerous. In this connection, it may not be out of place to mention the acts of cruelty often perpetrated on children brought up by organised begging. These children are rendered blind by application of drugs and intentional injury to the eye so as to be a richer source of income to their masters. In a like manner, the crippled children arouse greater sympathy and cases are reported where children have been crippled intentionally by injury to their bones for this purpose.

There is another category of beggars who owing to congenital defects are mentally deficient and destitute. They present among others a problem of special public health significance. In many instances these poor creatures are used for purposes of immorality and sexual perversions. In the case of a normal child-beggar sexual perversion is sometimes committed under duress and at other times as willing partners. In the case of the mentally deficient, the practice of men and women frequenting institutions endangering child morals, is to make use of the young boys and girls for the furtherance of their purpose. The end result of all this is to disseminate venereal diseases which in many instances go untreated owing to the fact that these mentally deficient children hardly realise the effect of the diseases on them and much less the necessity for treatment and cure. The effect of venereal disease not only on the individual but also on his progeny is too well known to require recapitulation. They in their turn not only cause other diseases, high infant death rate, but produce a generation of weak, mentally deficient and blind children, thus completing the perfectly vicious circle of aiding the cause of beggary and the swelling number of beggars.

We have so far attempted to indicate the general and special manner in which the beggars of different types disseminate diseases and constitute a nuisance and a danger to the public. We have not estimated the economic loss to the community arising from supporting able-bodied, lazy adults and child beggars on charity. To me, it is a waste of national wealth to keep them perpetually as dependant individuals. Even if it is not a loss of national



wealth, it cannot be denied that they are a definite danger to national health.

The religious mendicants are met with more frequently at centres of pilgrimage and near the temples; they are not a common sight in the streets of the cities. The annoyance and inconvenience caused by such beggars to the general public is therefore much less in proportion to that caused by street beggars of the types described above.

The truly religious mendicant is seldom, if ever, a nuisance and the chances of contracting diseases from him are extremely remote and rare. These mendicants are a class whose religions have prompted them to renounce the world and to live on alms just sufficient for a daily meal and no more. They possess nothing but the will to serve God and find Him. The spurious mendicant, however, is one who possesses, in spite of the apparent renunciation of the world as manifested by his garb, powerful instincts of possession and accumulation. He goes on begging without end and it is he who is a source of annoyance and inconvenience so often met with at the pilgrim centres. Fortunately, this type is generally localised round these places of worship and hence is not as acute a problem as the city beggar. As long as individual and indiscriminate alms-giving continues, there will remain a problem. A number of this class, homeless as they are, live in insanitary surroundings and owing to dirty habits of living are a source of danger to the public health as other types of beggars.

An orphan enlists sympathy of the public, particularly of the family man, much more quickly and easily than any other child beggar. It is even more effective when the orphan can relate pathetic stories of neglect and cruelty or of death of parents under tragic circumstances. Immediately the hearts are touched and the purse strings are loosened. This fact is often taken advantage of by some unscrupulous managers of the so-called orphanages in the outlying districts. They bring stray children into the city, train them to pose as orphans and to beg for funds for their institutions. If attempts were seriously made to trace the existence of these institutions, in many instances they would end in fruitless search. It has indeed become a profession with them and a profitable one at that. These so-called orphan beggars usually visit homes, institutions, railway stations and trains. They are not usually seen begging in streets and, therefore, are not as obnoxious a pest as the ordinary street beggar. These children generally come from distant villages or small towns and are let loose in the cities where diseases of different nature are endemic. Their sojourn in the city is made under difficult conditions—at as little expense as possible. In their attempt to save and surrender to their inexorable masters almost the whole amount collected by begging, these children suffer a good deal for want of proper food and shelter. The

inevitable result is that they become susceptible to the city diseases and fall a prey to them. When finally they go back to the villages, it is generally with money but minus their health. If the disease acquired is infectious, they become fresh foci of infection and spread it to others.

Leprosy is one of the most dreaded diseases in India. Hence leper beggars are the most objectionable to the general public. But in order to understand the causation of this problem of beggars with leprosy, it is necessary to view the subject from different angles and it is only then that the enormity of its social and public health significance, as also of the difficulties in remedying the evil, can be accurately measured.

The association of leprosy with the profession of begging is very ancient. For many centuries wandering beggars with leprosy have visited centres of pilgrimage and large cities. In recent years, with the development and industrialisation of our cities, the problem of beggars with leprosy has attained very large proportions. It is very acute in cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. In Calcutta they generally live in bustees and quarters entirely occupied by them and the business of begging is well organised under a headman. In addition to receiving help in the form of money, the lepers are sometimes fed in large numbers at certain centres by philanthropic and religious organisations. Fortunately, however, the danger to the general public is minimised to a great extent by their segregation. In other cities where such is not the case, they are scattered throughout the city and thereby increase the danger. In Bombay there is a Leper Asylum (Acworth Leper Home), but even at its best it can only accommodate a fraction of the actual number that should be isolated. Forced isolation has proved a failure as is seen from the fact that the lepers abscond in numbers. Even if they could be kept by force up to the fullest capacity of the institution or even more, their places in the streets would be taken up by new-comers from the provinces and the problem of leper beggars on the streets will continue as ever.

In Bombay 80% of the lepers committed to the Acworth Leper Home by the Magistrates belong to areas outside the city and very often outside the province as well. Attempts were therefore made to place upon the districts and provinces the financial burden of segregation, but that too has failed to prevent the migration of beggar lepers into the city. In the absence of a coordinated and co-operative policy of leprosy control on the part of the various provinces, of registration of leper beggars in different parts of India, of rigid restrictions in travel, of a genuine desire for diverting individual charity into community chests, of an effective public opinion against congregation of these people in cities and public places and against indiscriminate alms-giving, the stream of beggars from smaller places to bigger ones will flow on for ever,

If we were to assess fully the damage to public health caused by the leper beggars, it is necessary to appreciate the various conditions that influence the incidence of leprosy, the attitude of the public towards the disease and the social status of the people suffering from it. Leprosy is a social problem and socio-economic factors such as poverty, bad housing, poor nutrition and debilitating diseases have both predisposing and aggravating effects upon the individual, although it is difficult to form an exact quantitative estimate of the part played by each one of them.

In ancient Indian writings the attitude of the people towards the disease has been described in very clear language. Avoidance of contact with lepers has been particularly emphasised and social ostracism practised. Even today in certain parts of India, lepers are treated as social outcasts and are often compelled to leave their village and the state. The result is a silent and steady movement towards the cities and bigger places where for want of other means of livelihood, they fall upon begging as the only resource. In these parts of India the reaction upon the healthy individual, when he sees a leper anywhere near him, is one of intense terror. Again, there are other parts of India where the people are entirely indifferent to leprosy, as far as social contacts are concerned. With them the old idea of hereditary nature of the disease still holds good and the belief in contagion is not at all strong. Both the attitudes of indifference and exaggerated fear are unhelpful, if not harmful, and it is necessary that a more rational attitude based on sound knowledge of the simple facts of the disease should be adopted by the public. It is often stated by medical people that the majority of leper beggars are merely burnt out cases and are not infective, while lay people consider all lepers as infective. Truth, however, lies midway between the two.

The social position of those suffering from leprosy has a very direct bearing on the question of mounting up of leper beggars. In certain parts of India and in certain communities therein the social consequences of leprosy are so serious that it is sometimes difficult for the diseased to remain in the village or to earn their living. If employed in industry or elsewhere, the mere knowledge that a person is suffering from leprosy, will bring about a loss of employment. Sometimes the disease may lead to partial or total disability and thus prevent him from earning his living. This is how and why persons affected with leprosy tend to become beggars and naturally move towards localities where chances and prospects are better. This is true not only of the severely infective cases of leprosy, but often of persons who are suffering from a mild non-infective form which is not a danger to others. Sometimes employment is refused even when a medical certificate that the disease is arrested and non-infective, are produced.

Let us now see how and what actual danger to public health results from the type of leper beggars usually seen in the cities. They are a mixed crowd, some in the very late stage of the disease often considered the worst of them but in fact the least dangerous, some in an infective stage, the lepromatous type, and some in the very early non-infective stage, perhaps the consequence of close association with other lepers in the family. The second group is the most dangerous, but so far as offence to the sight is concerned, the first and the second are equally nauseating and loathsome. Leprosy infection occurs as a rule from prolonged contact, but the possibility of acquiring infection from the highly infective cases at close but short contact cannot be altogether ruled out. Moreover, a patient who is non-infective today may pass on to an infective stage without even himself knowing of it. Hence the danger if beggars with leprosy are allowed to move about freely amongst others and particularly in crowded places. Whatever measures, therefore, may be taken should be directed against all the three classes. The public will then be spared not only the disgusting sight, but the disquieting condition and agony of mind resulting from a close contact with an infective leper.

These then are some of the main features of the beggar problem as it affects public health. Beggars, with communicable diseases such as tuberculosis, small-pox, measles, leprosy etc. are at large in our country, and they congregate in cities, at public fairs and pilgrimage centres, travel by trains and sleep on footpaths in large cities at night. Helpless, mentally deficient children, victims of sex perversions and prostitution, also spread social diseases far and wide. Denied any sanitary conditions of living, or opportunities for personal comforts which they cannot help snatching in open streets, avoiding law such as it exists, these socially disinherited unfortunates become helpless agents of infection throughout the country wherever they can chance to rest their weary heads. We have avoided detailed discussion of the various causes of the beggar problem and its remedies, as that falls within the domain of experts in Sociology. We have only touched on this aspect occasionally, confining our attention to the health aspect of it, since without reference to its etiology it would be like the staging of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark.

## A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF BEGGAR RELIEF IN INDIA

M. VASUDEVA MOORTHY

The varṇa institution and the joint family system have had important bearing on the problem of beggary in ancient India. According to Dr. Moorthy, the former "defined the scope and methods of mendicancy, distributed the social burden of poor relief and prevented haphazard and promiscuous begging", while the latter encouraged the pooling of resources and the even distribution for all. But the institutions, as they exist, no longer fulfil these original functions; indeed, they do not even help to mitigate the problem. Further, the various forms in which beggar relief found expression, such as alms giving, *śadāvarṇas*, *dharmaśālās*, etc., which were financed both by individuals and the State, have also deteriorated. And consequently, the author maintains that the changed conditions call for new techniques for handling the beggar problem.

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IN an enquiry into our methods of beggar relief one has to bear in mind some important factors in order to appreciate the problem in its proper perspective. The problem of beggar relief is a part of the problem of poor relief. Hence an investigation of beggar relief in India is really a part of the study of the methods adopted to alleviate poverty. Begging is associated with indigence. It is only the helpless poor that beg. Begging presupposes a condition of helplessness in which one *cannot* earn his livelihood by any means whatsoever, and must perforce depend for existence on the good will of others. A person may be rendered helpless by becoming blind, by the loss of limbs or by any other disability; and being so disabled to earn his livelihood, he may have to live by 'others' grace. But if he is born in affluence or has relatives to look after him, he need not necessarily turn out to be a beggar. A legitimate beggar is he who cannot earn his livelihood and also has no one to befriend him but society. This definition, of course, excludes the able-bodied professional beggars as being classed as "legitimate beggars". Religious mendicants, so long as they have no satisfactory excuse to offer for begging, are also not legitimate beggars but are really able-bodied ones. One may be a beggar by necessity or by inclination. But the problem of mendicancy is mixed up with the able-bodied beggars as well as the disabled poor and the helpless. In practice, we have the disabled begging side by side with the able-bodied. For, beggars do not much care to keep within bounds of finely defined categories; and the social worker has to deal with the problem of mendicancy in its entirety taking into account legitimate beggars as well as those who do not properly belong to that class but trespass into it.

There is another consideration also. Persons may be rendered temporarily helpless and be enforced to a life of begging for the time being. Such ones are usually poor children suddenly deprived of their parents or guardians, and also people made homeless and shiftless by calamities like earthquakes, floods and famines. This survey includes the consideration of all types of beggars. What was the strength and position of beggars in olden times in India? What was the general feeling in India regarding beggars? Were there institutions to relieve the helpless poor? And what were the ways and means adopted by the State and the people in general to render assistance to the beggars? What was the nature and extent of this relief? These are some of the questions which we shall try to answer.

The problem of mendicancy appears to have been of little consequence in the very early India. According to Macdonell and Keith the word *bhikshū* in the sense of alms, as that which is obtained by begging, is used in the Atharvaveda.<sup>1</sup> But "beggar is a term not found in Vedic literature."<sup>2</sup> The beggar as applied to the religious mendicant is a later extension of the term belonging to the system of the *Āśramas*.<sup>3</sup> This does not mean that persons mainly dependant on alms did not exist at all during the Vedic times. But religious mendicancy had not yet come to be established as an institution, and professional beggary was not yet a noticeable phenomenon. The Aryans penetrated into India as invaders not traders and settled as conquerors, chieftains and landlords. The original dwellers of the soil were driven further south and those who were subjugated were converted into slaves and labourers. The early Aryans lived in India with the awareness of their belonging to the ruling classes. Psychologically they were averse to begging. Perhaps also, in those days of plenty and of less pressure of population there were not many persons who were forced to beg at others' doors. Moreover, this fact, revealed by Anthropology, namely, that in all earlier societies it was incumbent upon the family, the clan or the tribe to support their own helpless members, applies to Vedic societies as well. In view of all these facts it is not surprising to find the problem of mendicancy very insignificant in the Vedic times.

*Religious Mendicants.*—The periods that followed, of the Brāhmanas and of the Upanishads, were marked by the emergence of a new phenomenon in the social history of India. The development of the Varṇāśrama system of life, which was collateral with the growth of ritual and philosophy, brought into being religious mendicants. Religious mendicants are those who have passed or renounced the householder stage of life and devoted themselves to wandering and asceticism. These are supposed to be interested in no temporal arts. They

<sup>1</sup> Vedic Index.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

abandon and shun all possessions and professions. Their profession is self-realization and they maintain themselves by begging. The number of this class of mendicants in early times is not known. With the growth of Jainism and Buddhism, and the monastic orders connected with them religious mendicancy must have received a considerable accession of numbers. The pessimism which generally characterized the mediaeval ages, together with the introduction of the Muslim *fakirs* further increased the numbers. Now the problem of religious mendicancy is associated with vagrants and able-bodied beggars to whom yellow robes and rosaries afford a convenient mask and make-believe. The religious mendicant is to-day looked upon as a person possessing inscrutable powers of doing mischief or of dispensing good to whomsoever he likes. He is a miracle-man of magic and of medicine. People give alms to him more out of dread than veneration. The order of religious mendicants was never in such disrepute.

*Factors Responsible for Beggary.*—No account, however, is available of legitimate beggars during any period in the past, of those who were helpless on account of natural disabilities, of orphans and of those who could find no means of livelihood other than begging. But we must remember the fact that old India, particularly mediaeval, following the break up of the Empire of Harsha was composed of a congeries of states. Wars between these states were frequent and ferocious; and almost every war was attended by blood-curdling pillage. Also epidemics and famines left their devastating effects upon villages, towns and cities. In view of the frequent operation of these factors one may reasonably imagine that there were often periods during which many were rendered homeless and helpless. Though one may not exaggerate the uncertainty of life in the past one has to recognize that there were forces then as now which from time to time disorganized family life, beggared well-to-do persons, orphaned a few, and altogether threw many on the charity of other citizens, or on the mercy of the State. We should not also omit to mention the melancholy fact that in old India the nature of penal law was such that it left a few victims mutilated in body. For certain crimes, the offenders had their thumbs or hands or legs cut off. After their discharge, these unfortunates, unable to do anything, probably joined the world of beggars. Thus the problem of poverty and mendicancy is an old and yet a live one, calling for solution now and again.

*Preventive and Curative Methods.*—Methods of beggar relief in the past may be considered under two heads: (1) Preventive and (2) Curative. Usually, in a study of this nature, some include punitive methods also. But to describe punitive measures as a form of beggar relief is a trick of dialectical caricature. Punishment of beggars is no relief to them; though, perhaps, it

may afford some immediate relief to society in that it is saved from the bother of beggars ! Moreover, in the past, begging when one was helpless was not considered as a legal offence. Therefore, for the present, we may well dismiss the classification of punitive methods as a type of beggar relief.

Preventive methods of relief are based on the formula that a stitch in time saves nine. They are only present devices to ward off future troubles; and their adoption involves foresight and a profound understanding of the laws that govern social phenomena. Preventive relief measures in India in the past took the form of institutional designs and ethical regulations. The *Varna* and the joint family systems were considered by far the most efficient and cooperative institutional endeavours to restrain shift and adventurous living, to limit and reduce to a minimum the social burden of vagrancy and mendicancy.

*The Varna System.*—How did the Varna system serve to prevent begging ? Did it not rather allow, indeed encourage, the entire Brahmin community to beg ? This is a paradox with calls for an explanation. It is well known that the ancient *Varna* system was based on the principle of division of functions. It is true that the Brahmins were allowed to beg; and we have earlier suggested that the *Varnāśrama* scheme of life was largely responsible for the growth and prevalence of the mendicant orders in early and mediaeval India. But the popular belief that the Brahmins as a class were allowed to beg is not true. The *Manusmṛiti* mentions begging (*bhāikshyam*) as one of the ten means of livelihood open to all those who are in distress.<sup>4</sup> All the four *Varṇas* obtained livelihood through the performance of their respective functions. The Brahmins, as devoted to spiritual learning, were forbidden to amass wealth. They were called upon to bear poverty; and history reveals that many high souled individuals in the past voluntarily renounced their wealth and embraced a life of poverty. Among the Hindus the goddess of learning (*Sarasvatī*) and the goddess of wealth (*Lakṣmī*) are considered as naturally shunning each other's company. Scholars should take no thought of the morrow. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." This view explains why Brahmins were asked to live by begging during their pupillary stage. Either the teacher, if well-to-do, maintained his students or the students begged and maintained their teacher and themselves. The students went to the doors of three or five or seven different householders according to their needs, and "like bees" collected alms therefrom. This method of obtaining food or grain was called "*Mādhukarī*". The tradition and opinion in favour of *Mādhukarī* was so strong that no householder ever disappointed those students who came to beg at his doors. Indeed, the householder stage of life was highly prized and

<sup>4</sup> *Manu*, X, 116 (See Kullūka's commentary).



praised as enabling one to be useful to students and also others in other *āśramas*. In addition to students, *Sannyāsis* and *Vānaprasthas* also were advised to live by *Mūdhukarī*. The *Sannyāsopaniṣad* gives elaborate rules which *Sannyāsis* should observe concerning the manner, time and place of begging. Manu prescribes the ways in which the members of the first three *Varṇas* in their pupillary stage of life should address the ladies of the houses where they go on asking for alms. This means that students of the three *Varṇas* were permitted to beg.

*Begging as a Discipline.*—Though begging was thus allowed to the students and the *Sannyāsis*, its scope was strictly limited with rules and regulations. Begging was not to be a nuisance to others but a discipline to oneself. Mendicancy was not an occupation; it was a form of austerity. It may be said that Hinduism generally discourages begging.<sup>5</sup> Living by alms is only permitted during certain conditions and stages of life. On the other hand, giving of alms (*dāna*) is considered to be one of the highest duties of man; and even those students and others who obtain alms are advised to partake of their meagre receipts with their co-students and fellows. Not only giving of alms (*dāna*) is much praised but non-acceptance of a gift (*aparigraha*) is also considered as a course of conduct which all the *varṇas* have to observe. Indeed, it is looked upon as a mark of irreproachable virtue and integrity on the part of a house-holder to refuse the offer of a gift. If at all one has to accept a gift or ask alms he has to do it of a good and true man.<sup>6</sup>

*Varṇa Obligations.*—According to the old *Varṇa* scheme of life the duties of each *Varṇa* constituted the professions of its respective members. But the greater burden of providing for the community fell on the shoulders of the *Kṣatriyas* and the *Vaiśyas* who were richer than the other two *Varṇas*. The *Kṣatriya*, in fact, was held to be responsible for the material well-being of the entire Hindu community. While there was no lack of charities and employment for the higher orders the *Śūdras'* well-being was not unregarded. Manu says that the Brahmins should engage the *Śūdras* in their service and support them and their families according to their work and needs.<sup>7</sup> The Brahmins are advised to give to those *Śūdras* who serve them, the remnants of meals, old clothes, grains and such other things which the Brahmins can easily afford.<sup>8</sup> If the Brahmins were not able to maintain and support

<sup>5</sup> According to the canons of Islam also begging is forbidden. Read Report of the Committee on the Prevention of Professional Beggary in the Bombay Presidency (1920).

<sup>6</sup> *Śuddhāt pratigrahaḥ*. As Kalidasa says: "Better is begging fruitless at the hands of a good man and true than that which is fulfilled at the hands of a mean fellow." (Megha.)

<sup>7</sup> Manu. X. 124.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 125.

the Śūdras, it devolved on the Kshatriyas and on the Vaiśyas to engage and support the Śūdras.<sup>9</sup> The Brahmins on their turn, maintained themselves by teaching; and the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas engaged them as family priests (purohitas) and maintained them handsomely. It was common to make endowments of lands to learned Brahmins. And particularly during mediaeval India many were the scholars who were created practically zamindars. Peddanārya, who flourished during the heyday of the Vijayanagara Empire says that Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya gave away the village of Kokat and several others to him in any districts he asked.<sup>10</sup> By ancient traditions, such endowments of lands to Brahmins were the custom all over India and the modern rentfree holdings such as Śrotriya and agrahāras are only survivals of old endowments. Being thus enabled to maintain themselves and others, it is no wonder that the Brahmins were required to employ and find support to the lower orders.

This injunction to find employment to the unemployed, especially of the lower orders was not merely an ethical obligation implied in the Varṇa institution, but also a legal enactment. Manu lays down that the King (the State) should enforce the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras to do the works belonging to their professions.<sup>11</sup> And in his commentary Kullūka explains "*the king should punish those Vaiśyas and Śūdras (able-bodied) who do not work.*"<sup>12</sup> Manu further says, "*If the Kshatriya and the Vaiśya, driven by the necessity for an employment (Vṛttikarṣitan) seek the help of the Brahmin, the Brahmin should support them by giving them employment accordingly.*"<sup>13</sup> And here, again, Kullūka explains: "*If the well-to-do Brahmin does not support these who approach him the king should punish the Brahmin.*"<sup>14</sup> This leads one to the two important conclusions: (a) that in old India it was held to be a punishable offence on the part of the able-bodied unemployed to refuse the offer of an employment; (b) and also that it was a punishable offence on the part of the well-to-do to refuse to employ and support persons who were in need of such employment and support.

We are thus justified in concluding that the Varṇa institution defined the scope and methods of mendicancy, distributed the social burden of poor relief and prevented haphazard and promiscuous begging. But the one great defect of the varṇa system, from the point of view of poor-relief, is that while some provision was made for the employment of those in distress it did not provide for the fluidity of employment. It created class and caste distinctions

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 121.

<sup>10</sup> "Kokaṭagrāmādyaneṣāgrahāramuladigina sīmala yandū nicche."

<sup>11</sup> Manu. VIII. 410.

<sup>12</sup> "Akurvāṇau vaiśyaśūdrau rājñā daṇḍyau." See com. to Manu. VIII. 410.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 411.

<sup>14</sup> "Evam balavān brāhmaṇaḥ śvavapagatāvabibhranrājñā daṇḍanīyah." Manu.

which are repugnant to modern ideas and ideals of social justice, solidarity and integrity.

*The Joint Family as Relief Centre.*—Along with the *varṇa* institution the joint family system was an important factor in the prevention of needless beggary in old India. The joint family was based and organized on the dual principles of trusteeship and equality. The elder member or members of the family, held the entire property in trust and administered it in the interests and well-being of all the other members of the family. At the death of the father or the eldest member of the family, the eldest son was to administer the family property, and maintain all the members. The unity and integrity of the family was the main concern of the joint family system. Whosoever in the family earned was supposed to earn for all the members of the family. No one earned for himself alone. Consequently all the family resources could be pooled together and concentrated and evenly distributed for the benefit of all the members. In one family there could be no distinction between the rich and the poor, which unhappy distinction is a recent phenomenon. Now-a-days a man can wallow in wealth while his brothers may be beggars. We know of callous instances where sons are affluent while the parent practically begs. Was there a lame or a blind member in the joint family? He had claims of benefit equal to any other members. Was there a widowed girl or a parentless child in the family? She had rights of protection and maintenance along with the other members. So far as benefits accruing from the property were concerned there was perfect equality among all the members. The unfortunate ones of the family were not driven to the hazards of a precarious mendicant existence. The joint family system brought and held together all the members under its broad roof and provided shelter and sustenance to every one. This benefit and regard to family members was strictly enforced by the State in ancient India. Writes Kaṭilya: "When a capable person other than an apostate or mother neglects to maintain his or her child, wife, mother, father, minor brothers, sisters, or widowed girls, he or she shall be punished with a fine of twelve paṇas."<sup>15</sup> The State thus guaranteed the obligations and benefits of the joint families to their unfortunate members. It was also laid down that "when, without making provision for the maintenance of his wife and sons, any person embraces asceticism, he shall be punished."<sup>16</sup> In these instances the interference of the State was obviously with a view to utilize family organization and resources so as to minimize and keep within bounds

<sup>15</sup> Kaṭilya, Bk. II ch. 1. (Shama). It may be also mentioned here that the property of bereaved minors was safeguarded and improved during their minority by the elders of the village. See Kaṭilya, II, 1.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

the problem of beggars. *One is led to conclude that in ancient India it was held that family irresponsibility and family disorganization were the potent causes of beggary and that the State was anxious to nip mendicancy in the bud by insisting on family integrity and responsibility.*

The merits of the joint family system as a means of limiting and preventing beggary are manifest. The joint family system inculcates the lesson that if every family took care of its own members, beggars would be rare. Every family is viewed as a relief-centre; and since relief is provided to family members, the head of the family has the advantage of knowing personally and intimately the needs and necessities of individuals requiring help. But the joint family organization is an efficient medium of relief only when there are large resources at its command and when there are willing workers who replenish and rehabilitate the resources as they get constantly exhausted. With limited resources and expanding members a joint family will soon collapse. And it is also ruinous to insist on a joint family with limited resources to provide relief to an expanding circle of unfortunate members.

*Localization of Beggary.*—Thus far we have shown how the institutions of the varna and the joint family functioned as agents for the prevention and minimization of mendicancy. It is well here to take into account another contributory factor which operated towards the localization of beggary in old India. This factor was mainly physical in its nature, but it had its immense influence on the problems of begging. The conditions of the times, unassisted by scientific inventions imposed restrictions on mobility. The powers of space-dissolving steam had not yet been realized. Further, it is imaginable how old India, honeycombed with states, big and small, could have no well coordinated system of roads. Locomotion, of even the able-bodied ones, was limited and hazardous. It is to-day, comparatively easy for the helpless poor to migrate from one part of the country to another. Rumours of colossal cities, of gigantic industries, of unheard of amenities, of the fabulous flow of capital, attract and concentrate the poor, the helpless and the vagrant in urban areas like Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Ticketless travelling by the railways helps to move these adventurous unfortunates over immense distances. But in old India though poor relief and philanthropy ran amock in pilgrim places, beggars could not easily cover distances. It was impossible for a blind man or a lame one in Bangalore to migrate to Benares, though he knew that he could maintain himself better at the latter than the former place by begging. At best, his range of begging all his life covered about a hundred miles round. Naturally, the beggar became personally known to the local citizens and the citizens became known to him. Necessarily, therefore,

the problem of mendicancy was localized. Also, by legislative enactments the movements of vagrants and strangers were closely watched and restricted.<sup>17</sup> These physical and legislative restraints on mobility contributed to keep beggars within bounds. Unlike the present situation, beggars in old India were not massed, though perhaps in a few pilgrim places, those who could afford to move about a hundred miles gathered together. The local problems of mendicancy comes to-day to be concentrated in cities like Bombay and Calcutta due to facilities of transport; and cities are called upon to bear the burden of poor relief which should be legitimately distributed over wide areas and centres. Such a concentration of the mendicant problem was non-existent in the past in India. The old restrictions against such concentration have disappeared. In the mass of beggars, we miss the true ones.

Preventive methods of poor relief went a long way in alleviating human misery in old India. But preventive methods alone could not have sufficed to adequately meet the constant demand for relief. Preventive methods helped to control and keep within limits the numbers joining the army of beggars. In spite of all preventive methods of relief there must have been many helpless ones and numerous unemployed and hungry souls who needed assistance from society. What was the nature and form of relief given to them? This question leads us to the consideration of the curative methods of poor relief in India.

*Curative Methods : Almsgiving.*—Curative relief in old India emanated either from private individuals and institutions or from the State. Curative relief to the helpless springs from motives of kindness, charity and sympathy. Relief to the helpless blind and lame, to the mentally deformed and defective, to orphans and the honest unemployed is a duty preached to all individuals by all religions. In old India there was no lack of private charity to helpless men, women and children. This charity took the form of giving alms to any one that came to beg at one's doors. The things given usually consisted of grain, cooked food and old clothes, and the helpless came begging only for these necessities. Alms were never denied to any one during the morning hours and during the evening hours and also during meal-time. In the morning hours, householders usually kept apart a quantity of grain to be given to all those that came begging. This practice of allocating for beggars a part of the grain in the household every morning is observed even now by some Indians. During afternoon and evening hours almost as a rule only cooked food was given to beggars; and it was, and still is, the Indian practice

<sup>17</sup> Read Kautilya's Arthasāstra, Bk. II, ch. 34 to 36. "Whoever is provided with a pass shall be at liberty to enter into, or go out of, the country. Whoever, being a native of the country, enters into or goes out of the country without a pass shall be fined 12 paṇas." (Artha. Bk. II ch. 34).

to prepare more food especially for the purpose of giving away to the helpless poor, and also to animals and birds. This method of relief was highly efficient in that it kept alive on the part of the householders the human sentiments of pity and kindness and fellowship. Since it was usually cooked food and old clothes that were given away the beggars used them almost immediately without having any idea of amassing and making business out of them. Also this kind of relief seemed to be continuous and not temporary.

Relief by individuals to the helpless poor was also given on festive occasions and feast days. When a rich man of the town or the village celebrated his son's or daughter's marriage, or when an heir was born to him, he usually fed and distributed clothes to the poor. This old custom prevails even now in many places. The idea of bestowing such gifts on the poor seems to originate in the feeling that when a man has an occasion to be specially happy he must endeavour to make all others about him put off their gloom and share in his happiness and thus earn their blessings.

*Sadārvartas*.—In old India well-to-do persons regularly fed fifty, a hundred or two hundred or as many persons as came to be fed, either at his own house or at any temple or at any public place appointed for the purpose. This custom of regularly feeding persons on every day or on select days was well known as *sadārvarta*. The tradition was that while a person had plenty to eat and drink and spare, he should see that others about him did not go hungry. It was generally believed and the belief is still held—that in this life a person enjoys abundance of comfort because of his charity and liberality towards the needy during his past life; if one liberally shares with others what he has he will have more yet in lives to come. Wealth comes to those who righteously spend it. Many Hindus according to the Hindu traditions are advised to regularly spend one tenth or one twentieth part of their earnings on charities. According to the Muslim traditions one should spend on philanthropic purposes one fortieth of his income. However, in old India persons regularly gave in charities according to their own capacities. During special months like Śrāvan among the Hindus, and Ramzān among the Muslims alms to the poor and helpless were freely distributed even by those who could not ordinarily afford to be charitable.

*Dharmaśālās and Feeding-houses*.—Along with the institution of the *Sadārvarta* there was the tradition of constructing *dharmaśālās* for the benefit of the poor.<sup>18</sup> *Dharmaśālās* were free homes where lodging, and in some cases

<sup>18</sup> Charities among the Hindus were divided into two types, *Iṣṭa*, which was of a spiritual character (like offerings and sacrifices), and *Pūrta*, which was secular in its nature comprising the construction of wells, tanks, lakes, temples, giving food, planting public gardens etc. Rich men even to-day keep up the practice and tradition of endowing *pūrtas* for the benefit of the public and the poor.

boarding, was made available to anyone in need of it. *Dharmaśālās* were endowed mostly by very rich persons, zamindars and kings. While some *Dharmaśālās* were attached to temples in old India, others existed independently and served as powerful agents and centres of poor relief. Perhaps *jamaatkḥānās* and *langarkḥānās* (feeding houses) and *mussāffarkḥānās* were Muslim proto-types of *dharmaśālās*. In the South during the early and mediaeval centuries rich persons, chieftains, and kings built free feeding houses called *ūṭṭūpurās* where pilgrims on their way and poor persons could have their mess and lodging temporarily. Of the detailed working and administration of charitable institutions, of their constitution, of their legal position we have very scant information. Even to-day some of the old *dharmaśālās* exist and old religious endowments and charities in some provinces are formally supervised by the government. But the exact position of old charitable institutions and endowments at present is not yet a decided question at law.

*Orphanages and Hospitals.*—In old India charities by private individuals and bodies were supplemented by state charities. In times of general distress, like famines, the kings temporarily established free feeding houses as the Bahamani kings did during the famines of the 14th century. According to Kauṭilya, during famines the kings should distribute to his people his own collection of provisions or the collection of the rich men of the town. He may also take the help of his neighbouring kings.<sup>19</sup> We have already spoken of kings granting acres of land, even whole villages to the poor and deserving Brahmins.<sup>20</sup> Manu says that the king should always give gifts and do other kinds of charities to a learned Brahmin, to one who is affected by disease or affliction, to one who is young (an orphan), to him who is very old and also to him who is born in a noble family.<sup>21</sup> The king in his private capacity as an individual and a rich man dispensed gifts and charities to deserving persons. But being the head, and having great control of the institution and machinery of the State, the king was specially required to take care of the destitute and the helpless. Kauṭilya also says: "The king shall provide the orphans, the aged, the infirm, the afflicted, and the helpless with maintenance. He shall also provide subsistence to helpless women when they are carrying and also to the children they give birth to."<sup>22</sup> This statement by Kauṭilya naturally provokes the questions: how was relief and maintenance given to the orphans and the infirm, and poor pregnant women?

<sup>19</sup> Artha. iv. 3.

<sup>20</sup> See also Kauṭilya, Bk. II, ch. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Manu. VIII, 395, Śrotiriyam vyādhitārtau cha bālavriddhāvakinchanam, mahākulinamāryam cha rājā sampūjyetsadā,

<sup>22</sup> Kauṭ. Bk. II, ch. 1.

Where were all these persons lodged? Does Kauṭilya refer to the institutions of orphanages and infirmaries and maternity homes with which we are to-day so familiar? Perverse, indeed, must that scholar be who in the face of this evidence can have the dialectical penchant to press the opposite conclusion. Indeed, history reveals that Aśoka endowed many charitable institutions for the benefit of man and animal not only in his own empire "but also in the territories of friendly independent kingdoms" (Smith's Hist. of India). Fa-hien, giving an account of the Gupta Empire during the 5th century mentions that in the towns of Magadha charitable institutions were numerous; and the capital possessed an excellent free hospital (Smith's Hist. of India). There is no doubt that this tradition of endowing charitable institutions for the benefit of the poor and infirm has continued to our own day, though on a smaller scale and in spite of State indifference.

*Provision for Employment.*—The states in old India not only thus provided relief to the destitute and the helpless but also provided employment to those who were unemployed and could work. Here, again, Kauṭilya is illuminating. He refers to a construction called "working-house" (*karmagṛham*) being enclosed within the fort.<sup>23</sup> Though he does not give details pertaining to the "working house" he elsewhere suggests the existence of "working houses", to provide employment to the helpless poor, particularly women who could not go about in search of any legitimate means of livelihood. The words of Kauṭilya are worth quoting: "Widows, cripple women, girls, mendicant or ascetic women, women compelled to work in default of paying fines, mothers of prostitutes, old women-servants of the king, and prostitutes who have ceased to attend temples on service shall be employed to cut wool, fibre, cotton, panicle, hemp, and flax."<sup>24</sup> This means that some sort of work-houses existed to provide light employment to really helpless women. The employment of these helpless women was effected by the State through the medium of the maid servants of the weaving department of the State.<sup>25</sup> It appears that great regard was shown to the modesty of these helpless women and also promptness was observed in the payment of their wages.<sup>26</sup>

*Spies and Ascetics.*—The state employed able-bodied persons who were in need of means of subsistence, in agricultural pursuits and industrial arts. Crown lands were open to cultivation by slaves, free labourers and prisoners. In old India the State particularly took care of orphans, dwarfs, the hump-backed and otherwise deformed and helpless people, and employed them as spies.<sup>27</sup> These persons were given training in the arts according to their

<sup>23</sup> Bk. II, ch. 4.

<sup>24</sup> Bk. II, ch. 23. (*Shāma*).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Vide whole of Bk. I ch. 11-12, Kauṭilya.



aptitudes and sent out to do the "under-world work" of the State. Spies were drawn even from the ascetic orders. The management and maintenance of the ascetic spies were left to the supervision of a diplomatic recluse. He was provided with money and disciples and ordinarily carried on "agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade on the lands allotted to him for the purpose." For all practical purposes he was created a land-lord. Out of the produce and profits thus acquired, this ascetic was required to "*provide all ascetics with subsistence, clothing and lodging, and send on espionage such among those under his protection as are desirous to earn a livelihood (vṛttikāma).*"<sup>28</sup> This provision particularly for the ascetics, seems to be a special arrangement, made for the subsistence as well as for the benefit of the State and of the public. The State would benefit in that the services of the ascetics as spies would be available and the public would benefit in that the ascetics would not be parasites and pests on the public. Śāmaśāstry suggests that the present day *bairagis* may be survivals of the ascetic spies in old India. May be, with the disintegration of the old states and the rise and spread of British domination throughout India the institution of the ascetic spies became defunct. Since now the State has no use for them, and also since no provision is made for ascetics no wonder the *bairagis* move along the flags of fashionable cities begging and also flourish on fortune-telling and guiding the speculations at the exchange and the turf.<sup>29</sup>

From the foregoing account it is evident that beggar relief in old India was not neglected. The methods of relief expressed themselves in highly institutionalized devices and ways of living, which prevented the problem of mendicancy from growing to unmanageable proportions. The mutual responsibility of the *varnas* to help and maintain one another was insisted upon. Joint families were looked upon as primary social welfare centres. Religious tradition and legislation contributed to whip up, preserve and enforce family responsibility. The greatest feature of the problem of mendicancy in old India was, that it was localized. Every region was called upon to solve its own beggar problem. Naturally, the incidence of beggar relief fell on the region or area to which the beggars belonged. The citizens knew the beggars

<sup>28</sup> Kau, I. 11. Compare with this the words of the Committee on Beggar Relief in the Bombay Presidency, contained in their Report of 1920. "The trend of opinion among the enlightened heads of Sadhus is that the governance of the Sadhu community should be entrusted to the hands of the respective religious heads or an assembly thereof, and they may do yeoman service if they can see on the one hand the spiritual sanctity of their cult preserved safe and on the other if they can see means to place the entire community on a spiritually utilitarian principle." P. 2.

<sup>29</sup> In Bombay city alone according to the census taken by the Corporation in 1921, the number of able-bodied *bairagis* (fakirs and sadhus) was 1,598.

of their locality, and the beggars knew their benefactors; personal contact was thus possible between the two. Also, the State in old India took interest in the well-being of the poor and the helpless. One would wish that it had not taken care of orphans and the deformed with a view to utilize their services as spies. It would have been better if it had employed them in nobler and more elevating occupations. Perhaps, in those days, it was thought that the orphans and the deformed and the otherwise helpless, being unable to earn a living by and for themselves in any other way, would be faithfully attached to the State and thus be excellent and sincere members of the criminal and secret intelligence departments of the state. However, it must be said that the relief and employment afforded to the helpless, though they did certainly alleviate the sufferings of the poor by answering to their animal needs, did not, except in rare cases, conduce towards the unfoldment of their personality. It is true that in the case of beggars their animal needs are exhibited in glaring relief. Their lean sides, their lack-lustre eyes, their hungry mouths clamour for food. Their gaunt structures claim the passing tribute of rags. In the sight of this appalling misery one is apt to throw food and old clothes at them and escape to brighter scenes with the secret satisfaction of beneficence being rendered unto the poor children of God. The philanthropist is apt to treat beggars as kindly as he treats animals. He forgets that beggars though they want their animal needs to be urgently satisfied, are not animals. Beggars are persons. Relief is that which not only temporarily removes hindrances in the way of living but creates permanent advantages and channels for good-living. Relief is not mere negative aid but positive uplift. Mere existence we assure even to the lower animals. Somewhat more than crumbs and clothes are due to man. The new civilization has destroyed old institutions. The *varṇa* obligations have become anachronistic. The joint family is disorganized. Old charitable organizations like the *dharmaśālās* have become effete and functionless. The competitive industrial economy of our times which has ousted the old co-operative rural economy from its place engages man in a ruthless struggle for existence. Mobility is bidding fair to outgrow the dimensions. And the State throws up its hands and disclaims its responsibility for the growth of beggars. Until our present competitive economy is changed, until new social obligations are instituted and mobility is controlled to localize beggary and the State throws off its indifference and rehabilitates old charitable institutions along new lines, the hydra of mendicancy may well await the coming of its Hercules and Iolas.

## THE CITIZEN AND SCIENTIFIC PHILANTHROPY

B. H. MEHTA

"In a country like India where population is large and badly housed, the standard of health low, illiteracy extensive, the woman suffering from various handicaps and the child neglected, public and organised efforts should be directed towards the restoration of a sane social life," writes Dr. Mehta. But our present methods of giving relief are outmoded and he, therefore, rightly pleads for a scientific basis for philanthropy.

**T**HE word charity must be occurring in every language. The primitive man and the barbarian knew of charity in some form. The workingman in the slum knows the meaning of giving, and even the beggar is known to share his little with his brother in want. It is generally believed that the injunction 'to give' was given by religion. However, man being an irrational animal, he has given because of a spontaneous, emotional urge; charity yielded its emotional dividend in terms of satisfaction felt by the giver. This will to give was further emphasised by religion, and charity became a stepping stone to spiritual uplift and it promised to restore a balance between this world and the one that was believed to come next.

The forms of charity were not conditioned by the capacity of the giver, and as charity became a habit, it was practised indiscriminately by millions at every time and in odd places. In oriental countries charity has become a universal aspect of daily life. In India charity is all-pervasive and is practised by every community. It is so extensively indulged in that it has almost become an evil. In the West, too, Christianity has not failed to stress the importance of giving in the ordinary life of man.

It can be easily seen that charity occurs most where there is wide-spread poverty. Almsgiving was a common and easy practice in feudal times where the rich and poor classes were so sharply divided. The business communities too practised charity because they believed that they must give because they get. The beginning of the industrial era saw the birth of a new type of mass poverty, and it led to the origin of other forms of charity. Today, charity prevails in countries which are governed by the principle of laissez-faire. Charity can function indiscriminately in societies where the individual is free to accumulate wealth and property and is also free to dispose of these according to his judgment. A new phase began when law and the government stepped in first to control and then to direct charity. In some States charity was even enforced by law in the name of taxation.

Today with a war, which aims not only to decide the fate of nations

and the forms of government that are best suited to promote human welfare, but indirectly also to alter the basic beliefs and fundamental outlooks of humanity so that relations between man and man may be redefined, the problem of charity must also take on a new meaning and be made to fit into the type of the new world that is being born. Even at the end of the last war, charity received a new interpretation in certain countries. Soviet Russia, by ending or restricting the possession of private property, limited the possibility of distribution of surplus wealth according to the wish of the owner. By providing employment and at least the bare needs of existence an attempt was made for the complete eradication of poverty. The new interpretation given to religion undoubtedly affected the religious impulse towards charity.

The Soviet experiment is a mere indication of the trend of human thought and outlook in the present century. There is almost a universal recognition of the need for a better application of the principle of social justice. The eradication of poverty is put as a first charge on the shoulders of any civilised government. The State is gradually assuming the full responsibility for the welfare of every citizen, removing the burden of voluntary obligations undertaken by public organisations and private individuals. Even where there is accumulation of private property, governments are attempting to control them by imposing heavy death duties and graded taxation. The spread of education and the removal of State interference in religious matters are gradually rationalising religious thought and sentiment.

Recognising the above trend in human affairs in relation to the practice of charity, it will be evident that the ideal condition in society will be the gradual elimination of the need of charity as the masses come into their own and are able to live in dignity and self-respect on the fruits of their own labour. The practice of charity may be prohibited by law as states recognise the need of scientific measures to promote human welfare. Leaving aside the considerations of the ideal, and not knowing the nature of world organisation that will emerge at the end of the present war, we may consider the immediate remedies and measures that should be undertaken in India to divert charity into proper channels and to manage the most needy.

In the first instance, it is necessary to understand charity as it prevails amongst the masses and the middle classes. In almost all the cases, the giver and the receiver are both moved by impulse. The giver experiences a feeling of pity and sympathy for the poor, the depressed. The sympathy is translated into action and alms are given in terms of money or articles. The receiver in all cases is classed as poor, though very often economic poverty is caused by or accompanied with different types of handicap. The sympathy of the giver is enlisted by the receiver by demonstrating the nature of the

handicap and its consequences upon his own life. This is generally one phase, and an important phase of the beggar problem.

The intensity of the problem and even the nature of it differ regionally, but in almost all cases the considerations are the same. In science, the solution of a problem should be discovered and suggested in terms of the root-causes. A mere analysis will lead us into a futile controversy. It is difficult to find out whether the beggar class emerges first into the social arena, or whether there is in existence an army of givers who have a store of emotions which needs to be directed to those who are in need of sympathy. A solution can only be reached if action is directed towards both the giver and the receiver.

An average individual acts first and thinks afterwards and he may be excused if he allows his feelings and sentiments to lead him into action which gives him immediate relief and satisfaction without making him realise that it may cause social demoralisation and injure the self-respect and personality of the recipients of his favour. It is well known that even persons who are capable of adequate reasoning and who know that chaotic philanthropy encourages public beggary and is socially harmful, do give charity in spite of this knowledge; their sentiments awe into silence their casual reasoning. Incessant and intensive public education is one of the fundamental remedies. The second remedy is a provision of substitute channels for the diversion of charity. It is, however, found that substitute channels only work when there is generally a fair level of intelligence amongst the class of donors. In the absence of this intelligence, the mere sight of the blind, the lame, the aged, the woman with the babe in arms, or the leper will open even the half-empty purse of the ordinary workman. Substitute channels unfortunately do not have the same appeal, and besides there is invariably a want of confidence on the part of the giver for help given by him which is not received directly by the afflicted.

However difficult this problem may be, much of the indiscriminate small public charity can be diverted into more useful channels if religion, which once promoted indiscriminate charity, comes to the aid of the newer methods of charity organization. Religion, which once rightly extolled the feeling of giving and explained renunciation as an important form of spirituality, must now analyse its own previous injunction, and explain to the layman the real meaning of charity in terms of modern social organization and evolution. It is true that blessed are those who feed the hungry and clothe the naked, but thrice blessed are those who help to eliminate hunger and see to it that all who are in need, have their needs fulfilled in the same manner as are their own needs fulfilled. Religion, which once enjoined individual philanthropy,

must now stand up for the establishment of social justice and for righting those wrongs that were caused by a virulent disorganization in the socio-economic structure of human society. With the establishment of even partial social justice and with the enforcement of equality of opportunity in the mundane world, the spiritual evolution of mankind is bound to progress a good deal.

The discussion of the bearing of religion on private philanthropy leads us into consideration of the religious mendicancy itself. In a country like India where both the major religions have extolled the 'sanyasi' and the 'fakir', beggary is bound to be looked upon as a noble form of spirituality. It is a privilege which merits Heaven to feed, clothe and house the man who pretends to have removed the *maya* of this earth in order to serve that unknown world for which the believer has infinite respect. Such beliefs have encouraged the emergence in this country and other oriental countries of millions of religious mendicants who are daily fed, clothed and supplied with extravagant goods by the credulous and the unwary. Sacred temples have become the haunts of thousands of able-bodied and well-nourished human beings who renounce work and prey on the noble sentiments of charity and spirituality of the ignorant laity. This problem of religious mendicancy almost baffles a solution. It is fortunate that genuine and far-sighted leadership in the country in the fields of religion, society and politics have realised this grave menace which indirectly aids and abets the growth of another type of beggar class. It is obvious that a foreign government, or a government not entirely free of foreign domination, cannot run the risk of tampering with a problem which may lead even to riots and disturbances, but perhaps the national government of the future, moved by a missionary zeal to solve some of our complicated problems that have baffled us and can only be dealt with by honest and fearless leadership, may, with firm and uncompromising legislative action, face this situation too.

As long as the beggar and the religious mendicant are part of a human society, it will be readily seen that methods other than private philanthropy will have to be applied as remedies. The beggar may be institutionalised or segregated. He may be detained in prison or looked after in a hospital, workhouse or almshouse. But these methods will not fail to rehabilitate and reclaim a large unfortunate section of the population. Measures of complete isolation and sterilisation of the unfit have been advocated, and they become imperative in certain extreme cases. But these are mere preventives, they do not suggest a cure. As long as poverty, want and unemployment continue to be rampant in human society, every effort should be made, even on a small scale, and perhaps in restricted areas, to plan the reclamation of the help-

less. The beggar must be housed and healed; he should be provided with employment so that he can earn his livelihood and live in dignity and self-respect. There should be a network of organisations, co-ordinated together, working according to plan on scientific lines to deal regionally with small beggar communities. It is unlikely that such organisations will not receive public sympathy and support; and if they are backed by religious bodies, a good deal of uncontrolled charity which is going to waste, will be harnessed to the real benefit of the generally handicapped, leaving it to law to deal with that section which uses beggary as a shield and a tool for anti-social and criminal conduct.

Coming to a more intelligent type of charity where those who have sincerely desired to utilize their wealth for the genuine welfare of their fellow-men, it is felt that a good deal of such philanthropy can be organised to achieve human welfare on scientific lines. The needs of the church, the class and certain benevolent institutions attracted the sympathy and interest of the well-to-do in the past. Even today communal, sectarian and religious charities thrive in many cases. The orphan, the sick, the destitute and the student benefit from these partially organised sectional charities. In such cases, too, what the giver gives indiscriminately is distributed unsystematically. Waste, overlapping, jobbery and even corruption enter into many badly organised charities which know not how to utilize their resources for the maximum good of the maximum number. Donors, seeking limelight, support causes which bring a halo to their names; they are not interested in maintaining and upholding efficient services for the intensive service of the poor. It may be added, however, that there are important exceptions to these mushroom organisations, societies and associations brought into being by mediocre and untrained leadership under high-sounding names and lofty aspirations.

The time has come however when the philanthropist has to be led, guided and helped, when the public has to be educated to discriminate between well-deserving and dubious causes, and when societies and associations have to be brought to the realisation that wise philanthropy and genuine service must yield results in terms of human welfare, happiness and progress.

A public body, organised by an individual or group of individuals, should demonstrate certain well-defined characteristics and qualities to deserve public sympathy and private aid. Its aims and objects should be clearly and precisely stated; a number of such bodies adequate in relation to the society's resources, should receive direct and tangible support. Selfless leadership, capable of thoughtful and consistent action, is as imperative for any useful organisation or institution, as efficient management and careful, watchful supervision. A sufficient number of useful and active workers who

understand and appreciate the cause they serve, and who are in some manner trained for the work, are necessary to obtain satisfactory results for public philanthropy. The real success of these organisations, however, will only come if their activities and services are worked according to plan, and if scientific methods are employed to execute these plans in terms of concerted and persistent efforts. The finances of these bodies should reveal careful investment of funds in useful activities and avoidance of waste and heavy administrative costs.

In a country like India where population is large and badly housed, the standard of health low, illiteracy extensive, the woman suffering from various handicaps and the child neglected, public and organised efforts should be directed towards the restoration of a sane social life. The investment of money in this direction will be the most useful and helpful charity. Human environment plays an important role in the direction of social evolution and progress. The environment helps to develop talents and character, and a healthy environment will greatly stimulate efficiency in every aspect of life. A planned physical environment will facilitate the birth of various types of social welfare activities. Both in the city and in the village, housing planned on a co-operative basis under public initiative will pave the way for Municipal and State action on a larger scale. The investment of charity in housing projects will contribute much towards greater human happiness, better health and improved social relations and social organisation.

In the realm of education, however meagre the educational facilities provided by the local government and the state, public charity should reserve its interest for pre-school training and adult education. The creation of Infant Schools, Nursery Schools or Montessori Schools or even partial provision for the care of pre-school children will improve the prospects of education in the later stages. The foundation of life is laid in the earliest years, and the provision of proper environment, sufficient and wholesome food, basic training and adequate play will create a healthy generation for the future. Both in the village and in the slum, pre-schools are a neglected amenity for childhood.

Adult education is very much needed, especially for parents and workers, who never had the opportunity for any kind of education in their childhood. Adult education is a kind of activity which can be easily undertaken by voluntary effort backed by public sympathy and charity. There is an urgent need to create a National Adult Education Society to direct and plan adult education in all its aspects, and local adult education centres can be left to the care of local organisations manned by local volunteers and backed by local charity.



Public effort and private philanthropy should also be directed towards the preservation of health and the prevention of disease. The creation of Health Centres in our country has been almost completely neglected. The provision of outdoor life, playgrounds and sports and athletics will go a long way towards the creation of a healthier and a more energetic population. Whilst private philanthropy may provide these amenities on a club, sectional or sectarian basis, the Municipality and the State ought to look to the provision of these for larger numbers. Municipalities may even take advantage of private philanthropy to advance the cause of health of the general public. As in the case of Adult Education, a Playground Movement or a Physical Welfare Movement organised on a national basis, backed by private charity and philanthropy in local areas, is necessary in any scheme of national reconstruction.

The maintenance of the poor is a serious problem, and in our country where the majority of the population is a victim of chronic poverty, a solution can only be attempted for the benefit of small numbers and sectional communities. Efforts have especially been made in communities, castes and social groups in which the majority enjoy a higher standard of life. Private philanthropy should give every possible encouragement to any systematic or scientific attempt to relieve poverty and its consequences. Efforts for the complete rehabilitation of the poor should be made by any intelligent community that is capable of realising the importance of preserving social health and taking active measures against the slow demoralisation and deterioration of a part of itself which is eventually bound to react on it or the community as a whole. The employment of trained social workers by private individuals and public associations to carry out Family Case Work amongst the victims of poverty is one of the most effective forms of utilising private charity and philanthropy. Family Case Work is recognised in the civilised world as the highest form of social service. It is also the most difficult type of social work which can be done only by trained, experienced and mature social workers, well-versed in the knowledge of social sciences, especially individual and group psychology, family problems and the treatment of every aspect of the poverty problem. Any institution, association or public body catering to the poor ought to be able to pay for the services of full-time qualified workers who will be able to do more for the relief of the poor and eradication of poverty than any of the half-hearted palliatives, like doles, distribution of food grains and clothes, relief for rent etc., which eventually render the problem more complex for solution. If private philanthropy can come to the help of associations which serve the poor, they will be able to render more effective aid than hitherto.

The present war, with all its evil consequences, is augmenting considerably the private wealth of a large number of individuals, business firms and organizations. When private wealth is thus improved, it is but natural that a part of it will be utilised by well-meaning and intelligent philanthropists for the benefit of their fellow men. The utilisation of the surplus wealth of individuals and the utilisation of money put at the disposal of handicapped and needy human groups requires to be properly directed and invested so as to make charity yield the maximum of human welfare. It is usual for wealthy philanthropists to give a part of their wealth as endowments to be managed by Trustees. The Aims and Objects of the Trust are usually determined by the needs of groups at a given period, and as Trusts have a permanent existence, considerable difficulties arise years later when the Articles of the Trust remain fairly operative whilst the direction in which the Trust money has to be used requires to be changed due to circumstances.

In the making of Trusts, the help of lawyers is not enough. It is essential for philanthropists to consult institutions like the Charity Organisation Societies that exist all over Europe and America, but are unfortunately not known to this country. The Charity Organisation Movement, briefly known as the C.O.S., which began in the middle of the 19th century, has rendered the greatest help in western countries in the efficient organisation and management of private charities. It took almost a hundred years for the C.O.S. to come into its own. In the last decade of the eighteenth century, a society for bettering the conditions of the poor came into existence under the leadership of men like William Wilberforce, Thomas Barnard, M. Eliot and others. After more than half a century, the Society gathered strength. John Ruskin and Octavia Hill joined it. And the C.O.S. Movement took root both in England and in America, and in various forms existed throughout the Continent.

The task of the C.O.S. was the task of leadership in the field of philanthropy. It attempted to educate charity societies by suggestion and example. The C.O.S. suggested the nationalisation and consolidation of charities and desired to organise charity by legislation and social action. It published voluminous literature on the problem of poverty and the ways of charity. It raised social services to the level of a profession. Some action on the lines of the C.O.S. Movement has already been taken in India. Here and there Charity Organisation Societies have come into existence, mainly to serve small sections of people. The government too has acted to a small extent under the pressure of public opinion, and registration of charities and the supervision of accounts, however partial, have been undertaken. It is unfortunate that no effort has yet been made to work the real aims and principles of the C.O.S. Movement. Hardly any lead has been given to the philanthropists, loose and independent

actions of societies with narrow outlooks have not been co-ordinated, persons who manage charity have not yet been even brought together, let alone the larger purpose of educating them in the scientific methods of charity management.

India is a vast country, and the existence of many communities and the caste system comes in the way of any effort to organise charity on a national basis. To give charity for the benefit of one's own caste or community can be understood and appreciated, but a wider outlook for a broad-based philanthropy has to be gradually realised. Moreover, sectional and communal groups, whilst continuing to serve their own interests, can come together for common purposes, for the promotion of common objects. There is an urgent need to educate public opinion with regard to the investment of money in charity for the promotion of public welfare and for suggesting better methods of management of charities.

As the social consciousness continues to awaken in this country, there is a greater desire to see that charity serves a far greater purpose than providing temporary satisfaction to the giver and the receiver. The need is felt for a greater understanding of the human problem and its solution by better understanding and co-operation between the public, the philanthropist and the government. The task is not an easy one. The emotional forces that urge the large masses to sacrifice and contribute their mite towards the well-being of their fellowmen should be given a direction and insistent education must create public opinion in favour of wise and discreet giving. Leaders and workers inspired by the mission of aid to their fellowmen must come together to formulate with care and precision their aims and ideals and work together with efficiency and organisation to achieve those aims. The philanthropist, endowed with wealth, must be aided by the State and organised charity to invest his wealth in causes which are worthwhile and which will aid in the eradication of want and poverty, and the encouragement of self-sufficiency and self-respect. The road is a long one, and India is only on the threshold of attempting to organise and regulate fundamental individual and social forces which have since time immemorial contributed to the well-being and service of the human and the sub-human kingdoms.

# A SCHEME FOR THE GRADUAL TACKLING OF THE BEGGAR PROBLEM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CITY OF BOMBAY

J. F. BULSARA

## PART I

### PRELIMINARY SURVEY—NUMBERS—LEGISLATION

This Scheme, which has been prepared by the author at our request, is now under the consideration of a Special Committee in Bombay. Though it deals specifically with the problem of beggar control in this City, it can serve as a basis for similar schemes in other parts of India, for the problem is, more or less, similar everywhere. In drawing up this comprehensive Scheme the author's main idea has been to devise various types of institutions needed and co-ordinate their activities with other existing agencies in the City which can render help or useful co-operation in the rehabilitation of beggars.

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**T**HE difficult problem of beggars in the City of Bombay has been under discussion for over 36 years. It has agitated the public mind, the Municipal Corporation and the Provincial Government. It still awaits a studied, serious and systematic handling, let alone a solution. I shall not go here into

**Preliminary.** the various theoretical aspects of the problem of beggary from the standpoint of its effects on society, society's responsibility for it, its economic and sociological causes, its nuisance value, its influence on public health, the injury to social conscience and the encouragement of social vices through its long tolerance, and such other questions associated with the vast problem of nearly 30 to 40 lacs of beggars and religious mendicants in the country as a whole. Nor would I like to go into the controversy of determining the relative responsibility of the four sections of Indian society, viz., the public, the civic administration, the Provincial and Central Governments for solving the problem. It would suffice for my purpose to say that none of the above four sections can or should singly handle or attempt to solve the problem, that their close co-operation will be necessary at every stage and that the ultimate control and major financing of the movement and machinery for the tackling of the beggar problem should rest with the Provincial and the Local Governments as has been the case in all the countries of the West where this problem has been systematically handled.

1. Most of the civilized countries of the world have long prohibited beg-

The need of co-operation between the general public and local and provincial governments in handling the problem of beggars.

ging in public and declared it an offence under the law, whereas England began her Poor Law Relief as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Japan has enacted laws to care for her aged and infirm in State and Municipal Homes and begging in Japan is as scarce as in countries like Great Britain and Germany. But beggars still

stalk the streets of China, India, Moslem and other countries of the Near, Middle and Far East and even some of the smaller eastern European States, though all have realised the fact that the beggar problem can never be solved by private charity, however profuse, and that state intervention and legislation are necessary if the allied problems of begging, destitution and vagrancy are to be effectively tackled. In fact, private charity without organised, well discriminated and institutionalised distribution of relief, has, more often than not, led to the intensification of the evil it has tried to relieve or eradicate, and that is exactly what has happened in India and some Moslem countries, where giving alms to all and sundry, infirm and able-bodied, deserving and otherwise, has been particularly extolled as a virtue and an act of piety and godliness.

In the city itself public opinion is gradually gathering strength against the social and sanitary evils of begging, and right-minded people have been clamouring for a systematic handling of the beggar problem. Under the stress of soaring prices and scarcity of foodstuffs, and more particularly the difficulty of rationing for the homeless and the vagrant, the time seems propitious for such an organised effort. It is, therefore, suggested that the public, the civic administration and Government make an earnest effort to tackle this problem, which, though of too long a duration to frighten the organisers, is not so insoluble or vast as not to yield to a really serious effort. It is in the hope of showing to some extent the fair possibility of the problem being successfully tackled that the Scheme has been worked out in some detail, though, it is offered only as a tentative one and with no claim of finality or infallibility about it.

2. I shall not deal here with the question of the *juvenile beggar* under 16, as that problem is being already dealt with by a separate enactment and a relevant Society, and appropriate cases should be referred to the proper quarters if brought to the notice of the Police or other authorised agents empowered to deal with adult male and female beggars. Nor shall I deal with the much larger and somewhat more difficult question of *religious mendicants* or Fakirs and Sadhus, who do not openly beg in streets or from the general public but in the precincts or close neighbourhood of temples and mosques.

3. I shall not deal here with the detailed legislation or enactment of the proposed *Act for the Prevention of Begging* beyond pointing out that the first pre-requisite of the scheme detailed below is adequate and proper legislation, empowering the Police and other authorised agents to arrest and remand the beggars detected in the act of begging to a Home or Centre, to be kept there for shorter or longer periods, ranging from a few days to 3 to 12 months or longer as found

Juvenile beggar  
and religious  
mendicant not our  
concern in this  
scheme.

Enactment of  
proper legislation  
a pre-requisite.

necessary according to the nature of individual cases. This legislative enactment is necessary because the existing police powers under the City Police Act and the Indian Penal Code are utterly inadequate to enable the police authorities to handle the beggars. But the legislation need not be very elaborate and can be based on the various enactments that are already on the Statute Book in Calcutta, Madras, Colombo, Hyderabad and Lucknow. A tentative draft is also lying with the Municipal Commissioner of the Bombay Municipality and it can be handed over to a Committee of 3 lawyers and 3 or 4 laymen (men and women) to be put into proper shape.

4. Coming straight to the Scheme, one would like to know the magnitude of the problem in the City of Bombay, so that one may have some idea of the approximate financial liability involved at the end of one to five years. It is a matter of surprise that no reliable figures of the number of beggars in the City, systematically classified, are available. The figures available, such as they are, are however given below:—

1911—The Census Report of 1911 gives the mendicant population of the City of Bombay inclusive of "beggars, vagrants, procurers, prostitutes, receivers of stolen goods, cattle poisoners" belonging to all religions and inclusive of religious beggars at 11,069, of whom 5,728 were adult males, 3,664 adult females and 1,678 dependants. Of these 7,426 were Hindus and 3,195 Muslims and the remaining belonged to other denominations. These figures naturally give us little idea of our real problem of secular beggars. (*Vide* Census Report—Vol. III, Bombay—Parts I & II—p. 88. In the same year the Census Report gives the figure of beggars in Calcutta and its suburbs at 5,624, of whom only 1,283 or less than 25% were born in Calcutta.)

1921—The Census Report gives the following figures:—

	HINDUS				MUSLIMS				Grand total
	Male	Female	Dependants	Total	Male	Female	Dependants	Total	
Beggars and Vagrants	3,163	1,030	542	4,735	1,234	301	235	1,770	6,505

(*Vide* Vol. IX, Part II, Tables, p. lxxviii.)

1931—The Census Report gives the total beggar population without any attempt at detailed classification as 5,025 out of a total city population of 11,61,383, which gives an incidence of 4.3 per 1,000—after Lahore the highest incidence among 7 of the larger cities

of India, Calcutta figures of 3,266 in the same year being considered not reliable. Of these 5,025, males form 3,821 and females 1,193, there being 11 more working dependants. (*Vide* Vol. IX, Part II, p. 199.)

1941—After considerable discussion and effort and a special attempt at rounding up beggars from the streets in the city, but during a rather wrong and awkward period of 8 to 12 at night, the Census of 1941 produced the surprising figure of beggars in the precincts of the city at 1,771 on the night of 28-2-41, 1,335 males and 436 females—not a reliable figure apart from the defects in the method and hours of rounding up, interrogation, etc.

1943—The Census of the "Homeless"—which description or designation is not necessarily co-terminous with "beggars"—carried out for the purposes of rationing by rounding up the persons in the streets during daylight gave the following figures:—

Adults	...	...	8,179
Children over 2 and under 12	...	...	1,825
Children under 2	...	...	118
Persons enumerated	...	...	10,122

5. Thus we find that we have no reliable census of secular beggars taken in recent years on which to base our forecast of the

No reliable figures of secular beggars in the City yet available.

The estimate of the Sethna Committee.

magnitude of the problem for solution and our estimate of the approximate establishment, equipment and expenditure we may need. The Committee for Prevention of Professional

Beggary appointed by Government Resolution No. 3020 of 26-3-1918 to consider and formulate proposals for the prevention of professional begging also bemoaned the lack of reliable

figures and obtained some statistics from District Officers, which, the Committee said, "though they cannot be regarded as perfectly accurate, can safely be treated as making the nearest approach to accuracy for practical purposes." These figures they gave as follows (p. 15 of the Committee's Report):—

Area	Population	Population of Beggars		Total
		Adults	Juvenile	
(a) <i>Bombay City</i>	9,79,445	4,000	1,000	5,000
(b) 26 Districts in the Presidency	1,86,47,032	30,865†	14,020†	44,885 +10,972*
	1,96,26,477			60,857

† For 20 districts.

\* Approximate figure for 6 districts

The Committee estimated that the ratio of juvenile to adult beggars worked out at about 30% to 70%, and the *juvenile* and *infirm* together formed half of the adult able-bodied beggar population, i.e., in the ratio of 1 to 2 (20,000 and 40,000 respectively in the Bombay province). The infirm alone they computed at about 8% of the total, i.e., about 5,000 in the whole province.

6. Mr. O. H. B. Starte, who was specially appointed to make a further report and draw up a scheme for the tackling of the beggar problem in the City of Bombay, gives figures of beggars in the city obtained from 'a special census taken by the Corporation on 6-11-1921', the total number of religious and secular mendicants enumerated being 6,883<sup>1</sup>, of whom 4,912 were secular and 1,971 Fakirs and Sadhus. Some useful particulars about age, sex and physical condition of the secular and religious mendicants were as follows:—

	SECULAR			RELIGIOUS			Grand Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
1. Able-bodied aged 16 & above	1,246	737	1,983	1,413	155	1,538	3,581
2. Those suffering from disabling infirmities and aged 16 and above.	...	...	1,382	...	...	373	1,755
3. Able-bodied below 16 years of age.	...	...	1,456	...	...	...	1,456
4. Those suffering from disabling infirmities and below 16 years of age.	...	...	91	...	...	...	91
							6,883

As we are not concerned in this Scheme with the religious mendicants and juveniles as already stated above, we have to consider the above 2 figures of able-bodied adult beggars of 1,246 males and 737 females and of the 1,382 infirm, or a total of 3,365.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This comes very near the figure of 6,505 according to the census of 1,921.

<sup>2</sup> In the recent Rationing Census, the 'homeless' were counted at 8,179 adults and 1,825 children under 12. The enumerators stated that about 30 to 40% of these may be beggars which would give a figure of beggars at approximately 3,272 adults or 4,000 inclusive of children, i.e., 40% of the total. But according to the enumerators, those suffering from disabling infirmities would not be more than 3 to 5% i.e., 300 to 500 out of the total homeless of 10,122, whereas 7 to 8% more may be suffering from curable skin diseases. (In 1936 in Calcutta the number of beggars was estimated at 4,000 of whom 2,000 were estimated to be able-bodied, 1,000 lepers, 400 blind and 600 suffering from other diseases.)



7. Now whatever the figure of able-bodied and infirm adult secular beggars may be in the city, it may be stated at the outset that as soon as legislation to arrest and remand them is introduced, a very substantial percentage will either turn to work, cease begging, leave the city, repair to and live with relatives or rendered liable for deportation. This has been the experience the world over and also in Indian cities whenever such legislation has been introduced and its provisions put into force.

It would not be advisable therefore to make provision in our scheme straight away for very large numbers or even to build *pucca* structures for accommodating a large number of either able-bodied or infirm beggars. Besides, at present there will be the added difficulty of obtaining building materials for a year or two to come. The Scheme has been therefore deliberately conceived on a modest scale to start with, with proposals to utilise existing structures or institutions as far as available and to put up *kutchas*, cheaper structures somewhat on the lines of village huts, though built on sanitary plans, if further living or lodging accommodation is required.

8. The first beginnings of the handling of this difficult problem of rehabilitating beggars in such large numbers as in the entire Province must inevitably be on an experimental basis, and it would be less costly and wasteful in the long run if houses, structures, institutions and settlements are not located and erected on a basis of finality and for the full number of persons known or estimated to come under this scheme. This caution is very necessary in view of the subsequent complications and difficulties arising and waste occurring among numerous social institutions owing to hurried planning, lack of provision for change, expansion or adaptation and the cocksureness of the organisers about their initial plans, aims, objects and ideals, all put up with a touch of finality as if nothing therein will need the slightest change. No such finality is claimed for this tentative and experimental Scheme and it should be thrashed out in every detail by persons who have thought about or possess experience of like schemes or institutions. It only indicates in somewhat broad outlines one way in which the problem can be handled.

9. We have already stated that we are not concerned in this Scheme with the question of legislation, which should be taken up by a Committee of 5 to 7 lawyers and laymen, who should use the existing legislation in other provinces and the tentative draft with the Municipal Commissioner for guidance and draft a Bill to suit the needs of the City. The enactment should properly differentiate

between the secular and religious beggar or mendicant and leave the latter out of its purview at least in the early stages of our handling the beggar problem in order to avoid unnecessary complications and possible opposition on religious grounds. However, it may be provided that while religious mendicants may be allowed in the precincts of a religious house like temple, mosque or church, they should under no circumstances be allowed to beg on any public roads, streets, or premises or from the public in general, and if they do they must be brought within the purview of the Act for the Prevention of Begging in the City. Even as regards allowing them to beg within the precincts of religious institutions, they should do so with the express permission of the owners or trustees of the institution, and if the latter object, the beggars or mendicants will have to cease begging or otherwise they should be dealt with as ordinary beggars under the proposed Act. In this connection the attention of those entrusted with the drafting of the Bill may be drawn to some of the recommendations regarding definitions, etc., in the Sethna Committee's Report, (Chapter VII, paragraphs 37, p. 16), and in Mr. Starte's Report (Paragraphs 16-18, pp. 7-9), which deal with the important questions of religious and secular beggars, how far begging in the public should be made a punishable offence, etc.

## PART II

### INSTITUTIONS NEEDED—THEIR WORKING

10. Let us suppose that adequate legislation has been framed and passed and the Police and other authorised agents<sup>3</sup> have begun their work of arresting beggars as accommodation and funds permit, and placing them before the Magistrate for trial and remand if they come within the cognizance of law. As the Magistrate will be hearing evidence adduced by the police or the arresting agent and the offender himself as well as witnesses, if any, he will be in a position to judge whether he should release the offender if it is his first offence and he or his relatives or friends give an assurance that he will not beg any more. In order, however, to facilitate identification on a second arrest of the same person, the police should keep an adequate record of particulars, photograph and thumb impression of the offender and send them to the remand home or *Shelter*

<sup>3</sup> As the police are generally busy with so much other work, are transferred from section to section and are not always available at the places where they may be most needed at certain times of the day, it would be advisable to arm some employees of the Shelter or Management Committee—called Agents for the purpose—with police powers to go round the City and arrest beggars found in the act of begging and committing a breach of the Act. These Agents must however be appointed on a temporary term of 1 to 3 years in the first instance, for their retention may become unnecessary in course of time.

for filing, or if this is not possible, the Magistrate may remand every offender convicted of the offence of begging to the Shelter with a writ that he is to be released on the above formalities being completed.

11. If the Magistrate is not convinced of the *bona-fides* of the offender that he will not resort to begging again or that there is none to give a guarantee on his behalf, he will naturally pass a reception order sending him to the remand home or Shelter to be detained there for a shorter or longer period according to the exigencies of each case. Now the *maximum period* of detention on first offence, (which may be three months), should only be mentioned by the trying Magistrate and the release of the offender at any time during that period should be left to the discretion of the officer in charge (whom we may call the *Shelter Supervisor*), as it is possible that some developments may take place soon after the remand; besides, begging is not an offence against society or a crime on the same level as other heinous offences, and the beggar should not therefore be treated unduly harshly for the first offence. The Supervisor of the Shelter or his subordinate officers will be in a much better position to find out the attitude and temperament of the first offender in the quiet, persuasive atmosphere of the Shelter and judge whether the offender should be released with some help or advice immediately, or on being assured that the person or his relatives or friends are able to take care of him, and he need not be kept any longer at the shelter. These preliminary remarks are necessary here because, if the Committee agrees, these provisions will have to be suitably incorporated in the properly-framed legislation.

12. Now a word about the conception of the Shelter or remand home and the spirit of rehabilitation that should pervade it. It is understood that the ultimate idea of the removal of beggars from the streets and prohibition of begging and vagrancy is not merely to punish the beggar, who may be one, not always because of his own fault but because of many social, economic and other forces or circumstances often beyond his control. *We would put down the prime purpose of legislation to be to reclaim and rehabilitate the unfortunate beggar as far as it is possible to do so.* If that be the aim, care should be taken in the naming of the institutions and designating the personnel that are brought into being for the handling of this problem. We attach some importance to nomenclature in such a social scheme as the above, because if there is a derogatory meaning attached to the words or names applied or used, the stigma sticks to the inmates, influences their behaviour and is difficult to eradicate once society at large gets used to the ideas associated with the name or names of the institutions. As the word '*beggar*', like so many others, has a good deal of odium and condemnation attached to it, we should avoid naming our institutions with

that or a similar word. This will help us in rehabilitating the beggars; otherwise it will create a handicap in finding such people any regular employment even after rehabilitation. With this idea I have suggested all along a certain inoffensive terminology or nomenclature for various homes, institutions and officials, which however, may be substituted with more suitable names as available.

13. Now as beggars are gradually arrested and produced before the Magistrates, they may first be in larger numbers but later on they may be very few. As soon as the order for remand or reception has been made, they will have to be taken to a home and therefore a building for housing about 40 to 50 persons including men, women and children, will be required in a fairly central or easily accessible locality in the City. If arrangements could be arrived at with the *King George V Memorial Infirmary* and *Lady Dhunbai Home for Destitutes* at Haines Road, (Mahaluxmi), to house these remanded persons, it would be very helpful and economical. Otherwise, if an Improvement Trust or Municipal or Government chawl, somewhat detached from others, is made available, it may temporarily serve the purpose. This building will have to have halls or dormitories for males and females and a few rooms in case there are whole families with children to be accommodated. Two or three detached rooms will be required for the infirm, the defective and those suffering from contagious diseases. Such a place may be called the *Shelter* (आश्रम) to which the beggars may be sent on conviction.

14. The Shelter will be a place for receiving and sorting out the beggars. Those who would like to return to their relatives will be sent back to them after due inquiry and on the *Supervisor* being satisfied that the person or persons can be trusted or allowed to go. The Supervisor will have to be authorised to spend some limited amount on repatriation of such beggars.

The Purpose of the Shelter: Sorting of the beggars.

Now there will be the following types of persons to be sorted out:—

- (a) Able-bodied, single, unattached adult males,
- (b) Able-bodied, single, unattached adult females,
- (c) Man and wife,
- (d) Man and woman,
- (e) Man, wife and children (man, woman and children should be put in the same category as the last),
- (f) Defective, Diseased, Disabled or Infirm.

These six classes of persons will have to be dealt with differently according to the special requirements of each case. I would suggest that the affairs of the Shelter should not be made too complicated, and generally the inmates

should not be allowed to remain in the Shelter more than a few days except in exceptional circumstances. It should act more or less as a *Reception and Clearing House*.

15. Now soon after the inmates are in the Shelter, having completed the preliminary recording of their particulars, preparing identification cards with photographs etc., the Supervisor will have to sort out the inmates with a view to directing them to respective institutions for keep, work, training or treatment. It may here be suggested that the Shelter must keep a complete list of communal and other institutions that have been established in the city, with a view to taking care of the down-and-outs or stranded members of different communities. Thus Shelters, Dharmashalas or Homes will be found in the city for the destitute of all communities like the Sir Jamshetjee Jejeebhoy Dharmashala of the District Benevolent Society at Bellasis-Ripon Road, like the Seth F. S. Paruck Dharmashala at Hughes-Babulnath Road for the Parsis, managed by the Parsi Punchayet Trustees, King Edward Home at Ripon Road managed by the Salvation Army and the European Relief Association for Europeans and Anglo-Indians, Saraswat Deen Vatsal Sangh, Bombay 4, for Saraswats. Wherever such homes or Shelters exist for the members of any community, it would be desirable, after the preliminaries of record etc., have been completed, to direct by mutual arrangement such persons to the respective types of institutions so that the responsibility of the Shelter may be lessened to that extent. To this end the Shelter Supervisor must keep up-to-date information about the existence or establishment of such homes, shelters or institutions in the City. Except for the above and those who have to be repatriated to their family or relatives, each remaining class or type of beggar will have to be treated differently, and we will discuss them below separately.

16. Taking now the first five classes of beggars, all the able-bodied adult males and females will need a separate Home or institution, as the majority of them may be largely unskilled and would need to be given some training for work or taught some trade if they have nowhere to go to. Releasing them to the wide world without friends, influence or resources after a remand at the Shelter will only force them again on the streets and perhaps to more cunning or clandestine forms of begging or to thieving as happens in the case of a large number of convicts on their release from imprisonment. Those of the able-bodied men and women on the first and second remand, who express their willingness to do any work given them but are not in a position to find it, may be found some work; and if no work is immediately available for them, they will have to be given some

training for some skilled or semi-skilled work or trade, for which they may be kept for at least 3 months in an institution called the *Industrial Home* (उद्योग घर). This may be situated either in or on the outskirts of the city. The structure may be quite simple and even if they are sheds of bamboo-matt-ing walls and leak-proof zavli roofing with a raised plinth to keep off rain-water flooding the interior and built on sanitary principles, they will admirably serve the purpose of providing residential accommodation separately for men and women and some covered space for simple industrial training in easy arts and crafts. The sheds or camps for men and women may be separate, but they can be in the same compound or enclosure, so that both may get advantage of the general industrial lay-out. The easier or lighter operations and processes may be worked by the women as suited to their fingers and ability and the heavier or more arduous operations may be done by men.<sup>4</sup>

17. Training in industrial skill or technique takes time and it is easier to get it at an early stage in life. After idling one's life in begging, skilled work may not come easily to one's fingers or appeal to one's heart and so we must strive to procure as much unskilled work as possible for these men and women after giving them some *training in disciplined life* at the Industrial Home, say from 1 to 3 months or more in the case of a second remand according to the exigencies of each individual case. Here it may be stated that though the city attracts its beggars from the town and village, the hardened beggars may have become so used to city life and conditions that a large section of them, who have no homes to go to, will find themselves at sea in their small town or village and may prefer to stay in the city and find work there. Besides, it would be easier in the early part of

<sup>4</sup> Since the above note was prepared, I have seen the Evacuation Camp at Chembur and I believe it will conveniently suit the purpose for lodging able-bodied beggars with an Industrial Home for about 300 and an Infirmary for those defective and diseased or maimed cases who do not need much medical attention. The sheds are well-built and will last for some years, except that the zavli roofing will have to be repaired and replaced every two years and privies on the basket system will have to be provided as slit trenches will not do for a permanent settlement and will not be hygienic especially in the monsoon. This will save the initial expenditure of Rs. 30,000 to 60,000 on structures. The 13 sheds can easily accommodate about 500 inmates, in addition to providing room for weaving and other industrial purposes.

There is a charitable dispensary near by with a doctor in charge residing on the premises, who will be of great help to the staff as well as inmates. There are also a School, Library, Post Office and Police Post only a hundred feet away on the opposite side of the dividing road, and electric current can be tapped on the spot from the overhead Mains. The Chembur station is at a distance of about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile and there is a regular bus service to the Sion Station on the G. I. P. Rly. There are 2 big wells in the Camp and the Tulsi and Vihar water pipe lines are situated at a distance of  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile from the Camp and can be tapped if more water is needed for the Industrial Home and Infirmary. There is ample Government land in the neighbourhood for future development. A compound wall, or enclosure will have to be erected to prevent the inmates from absconding.

the Scheme to find work for beggars in cities with their much larger possibilities of employment in industry than to establish agricultural or other such colonies in undeveloped rural or forest areas, which require different qualities from those the demoralised type of beggars may be expected to possess. Pioneer agricultural colonies or settlements besides require a high type of leadership and a fairly homogeneous group of the first batches of settlers which will not be so easy to procure among our variously handicapped population. The idea of having *Agri-horticultural or Agrico-industrial Colonies or Settlements* should therefore come at a much later stage after considerable experience of the variegated beggar population as well as of the working of the institutions proposed here has been obtained.<sup>5</sup> We must not expect miracles of self-reliance and uplift from the beggars, as it may also be well not to start with the error of under-estimating the capacity of the once fallen and handicapped to adjust themselves to new conditions, or altogether discount the latent recuperative powers of human beings to pull themselves together and effect self-improvement under congenial atmosphere, kindly support, guidance and encouragement.

18. Coming then to a survey of possible work for the able-bodied beggars **Training in Textile Industry.** in the city, the Textile Industry is the largest in Bombay and elastic enough to absorb from 1 to 2 lacs of male and female workers. Whereas it has many departments requiring skilled and therefore trained workers, it can also take several semi-skilled and unskilled workers, both men and women. It would therefore be advantageous to have at the Industrial Home a *Textile Department* with simple spinning on a good charkha and weaving on hand and treadle looms, and for purposes of demonstration or even actual work a power loom with dobbie arrangements may also be introduced. This will also help in the production of much-needed cloth for the clothing of the inmates of the various institutions and the inferior staff employed thereat, killing two birds with one stone. Further, the intending worker, man or woman, will be trained up, *inter alia*, in an atmosphere of spinning, weaving and ancillary operations and will not find himself or herself lost in the vastness of a Textile Mill when transplanted there suddenly after a long life of practically doing nothing beyond using his tongue or wits. Besides such practical training, the workers should also be given simple lessons in *discipline, good behaviour, honest dealings, enthusiasm for work and personal cleanliness and sanitation*, so that, when sent out, they may be accepted willingly by the employers rather than refused work in their concerns because they had a somewhat degenerate past and come from an atmosphere of social stigma.

This aspect of creating a good impression about the workers sent out

<sup>5</sup> *Vide* Appendix II for the possibilities of dairying and agri-horticulture at Chembur.

from the Home needs to be emphasised, for, once the Home gets a bad name with regard to the inmates' honesty or willingness to work, it will find it difficult to place them for employment. They must also be fed well at the Home and their health should be improved, so that they may be able to do the hard work expected of them.

19. There are about 65 to 70 Textile Mills in the city and suburbs and the Mill-Owners' Association and individual proprietors may be requested to admit from 10 to 20 workers each daily (on the basis of about 1% of their total employing capacity) on unskilled or semi-skilled work in their mills, giving them whatever wages they give to others, so that there may be no distinction made between the inmates of the Home and other workers. This will solve by far the most difficult problem of placing our able-bodied men and women in useful and profitable employment. The male and female members of the so-called Criminal Tribes Settlement near Sholapur are given employment in the textile mills in the city and the mills seem to have had no particular difficulty with them and the mills in Bombay, if properly approached, may be able to give employment to a very large number of our able-bodied inmate population of the Industrial Home.

20. After such employment, the men and women may be allowed to remain in the Home for some time if they choose to be there on payment of their feed, and if they desire to leave and find their own lodgings they may be allowed to do so. If, however, on account of the acute shortage of housing in the City, they are not able to find residential accommodation, the officials of the Home should try to find it for them through the Municipality or Government or some other Agency. If by experience, it is considered desirable to maintain an *After Care Home* or *Lodgings* for such working inmates of the Home, the same may be done with a view to make such a Home or Lodgings *self-supporting* as far as possible.<sup>6</sup>

21. It would not however do to lay all one's eggs in one basket and we must keep in view other avenues of skilled and semi-skilled and unskilled em-

<sup>6</sup> If the Industrial Home of the able-bodied is housed in the *Chembur Evacuation Camp* as proposed, this difficulty of lodging the mill workers in the city may not arise at least for some time to come. For, about a mile from the Camp are situated two textile mills in Kurla, viz., the Svadeshi Mills Co., Ltd., and Coorla Spinning & Weaving Co., Ltd., belonging to Messrs. Tata Sons Ltd., & Messrs. Cowasji Jehangir & Co., Ltd., and if these were approached and requested, they may take up a large portion of the semi-trained inmates of the Industrial Home for employment in their mills. In fact, when the Sethna Committee appointed for this very purpose considered this matter in 1918-19, the members approached the Directors of Messrs. Tata Sons Ltd., with such a request and the latter were good enough to agree to employing as many able-bodied persons out of the beggar population as were sent to their mills as is done by the mills at Sholapur with regard to the inmates of the so-called Criminal Tribes Settlement. (*Vide Report—Appendix No. 6, p. 45, Section 10.*)



ployment for the able-bodied men and women from among the beggar population. In normal times the *Building Trade* would offer some scope for unskilled workers of both sexes and the Committee of Management may get into touch with larger Building Contractors in the city, the Municipality and the Public Works Department of the Provincial Government with a view to secure a few score or hundred places for our inmates on the works carried out in or outside the city. If the works are outside the city, the inmates can be sent there in batches of 15 to 20 or more with some organisation of their own for purposes of discipline under a Mukadam or Headman, so that their living, feeding and other arrangements may be made with the mutual cooperation of all, as is inevitably done among the Tamil and Telugu people coming to the city for work.<sup>1</sup>

22. The Municipality can absorb some more *casual labour* on its various *engineering works* such as road repairs and construction, stone crushers, etc., and in the *Conservancy Department*—say to the extent of about 50 to 100 daily in place of the absentees. Some special arrangements will have to be made to inform the Home as to where the men and women may be sent daily for employment and, if the Home is situated far away from the city, some arrangements may have to be made for transport or for lodging of this batch in an accessible locality.

23. As there is a dearth of domestic servants in the city and there is a ready field for employment of men and women in such callings and the training required is not elaborate or of a technical nature, it would be advantageous to employ some good male and female retired or middle aged workers to train up a batch of male and female inmates as *general domestic helpmates, bearers, ayahs, wardboys, sweepers*, and some capable persons may even be trained up as *cooks*. All this kind of training can be taken at the Industrial Home by actually helping in its varied work, and within 3 to 6 months or a year such persons can be sent out as full-fledged properly disciplined workers trained not only in their work but also in good and clean habits. The Home may thus come to supply a greatly felt need of

<sup>1</sup> Whether our beggar inmates will be very punctilious about the observance of *caste* and whether they have organised themselves in the city in such *caste-groups* will be a matter to be looked into. To start with, this idea may be discouraged, though it must be done with a certain amount of tact and skilful handling of the problem, and if absolutely necessary in certain respects, some allowance may be made, e.g., in matters of meat and vegetarian diet, disposal of the dead, marriage by language-groups, etc. The Moslems, Hindus and Scheduled or Backward classes and such others may have to be provided for specially in some such matters and with regard to worship if the inmates are devout or religious-minded, though, as stated above, too many distinctions of this sort should not be encouraged as far as possible.

clean, decent, well-behaved domestic servants who are so difficult to procure under Indian conditions. As most of these workers will go to decent homes and will get food, clothing, shelter and wages in addition, their lot would be very much improved and in any case would be far better than their begging condition in streets, homeless and helpless as many would be in old age. This type of training, if properly and systematically developed, will be a great success if the trainees are carefully chosen from amongst the most reliable and willing inmates of the Home. Similarly, a few men and women can be trained to do Mali's work, which, besides creating beautiful surroundings for the Shelter, Industrial Home and Infirmary, will also give them employment, as Malis are in fair demand in the city.

24. As it will be difficult for the Industrial Home to undertake any very elaborate industrial training of the inmates at a fairly advanced age in various branches of technical or industrial operations, it would be desirable to look out for other avenues of employment where unskilled or semi-skilled workers are required, and build up contacts with works and factories, where men and women could be supplied as manual workers or unskilled labourers on normal wages, after the inmates have been given a relatively intensive training in habit formation, application, cleanliness, methodical work, etc., for a period ranging from 2 to 4 months. Otherwise, the cost of maintenance would mount up and it should be the object of the Home to see that able-bodied men and women are put to productive work from the commencement of their stay in the Industrial Home, though it should also be seen that the erstwhile idlers are broken into habits of industry and application step by step, so that there may not be created in them a violent reaction or disgust for work or manual labour. *Younger men* and women may also be *apprenticed* in productive work in concerns willing to take them up on a low remuneration to start with.

25. The Industrial Home can be located in or preferably on the outskirts of the city, but it should be for obvious reasons within easy and convenient access thereof so that the inmates may easily go to their respective work in various industrial concerns there. Otherwise either a building will have to be hired in the city for lodging the men and women working in mills, factories and other concerns or easy transport facilities provided, which can be done by keeping a few buses. As there is an Evacuation Camp at Chembur, the Home may be located there, as such a step will save large initial costs and help in launching the Scheme almost immediately. To start with accommodation may be provided for about 200 men and 100 women and more structures may be put up gradually as the number of inmates increases. There will have to be separate *dormitories* for men and

women, *dining rooms*, and some accommodation for families wherever it is considered desirable to keep them together even for a short time, before suitable arrangements are made either for the entire family or separately for children. Kitchen, store room, sanitary conveniences, baths etc., and living quarters will have to be provided for the personnel of the Home. There will have to be two Sick Rooms for male and female inmates. If suitable premises as stated above are available, they may be utilised; if not, I would first suggest the hiring or requisitioning of some suitable property, and building later in the light of experience gained. If, however, it is proposed to build immediately I would suggest going in for reed or bamboo matting and mud-daubing for walls and asbestos sheets or Zavli (palm-leaf) for roofing, with raised plinths for flooring and Shahbad stones for pavement or even cowdung-smeared flooring. Only care should be taken to keep the premises clean and sanitary. Millions of Indians live in such houses or huts and Indian climate is such that, except for the monsoon, there is no great hardship under such conditions. The structures should however be airy, well-lighted and well-ventilated, and there should be some thought given to careful planning especially of the dormitories, dining rooms and verandahs, so that utmost use can be made of these enclosed spaces for more purposes than one. Very often such large spaces are wasted or insufficiently used.

*Worksheds* should be in the same compound and these too can be first of a temporary nature constructed of materials as above, so that they may not turn out to be inconvenient for lack of forethought in planning.

26. The Industrial Home will be in a position to take up all able-bodied persons, men and women, belonging to all the classes from (a) to (e) for being trained for a job and assigned one when the person is considered fit to take it. The training should not take very long as it will not be suitable for grown up adults and particularly of the types of mentally disintegrated adults uprooted from their social moorings who will mostly constitute the class of beggars arrested from streets.

Whether man and wife or man and woman should be lodged together & allowed to procreate. There will be slight variations, however, with regard to the conditions of residence for the classes formed of 'man and wife', 'man and woman' and families including young children. Two things will have to be decided, viz., (1) whether man and wife and man and woman should be allowed to live together and if they are allowed to live together (2) whether they should be allowed to procreate freely or taught *contraception* so that some check on the unwanted progeny in their initial helpless condition may be exercised.

It would be difficult to lay down hard and fast rules in such cases and it should be left to the officials in charge to make observations of the actual

conditions of such people and put up their proposals or recommendations from time to time for consideration by the Managing Committee. But a few general observations may be made in this respect. At first men and women, to whatever category they may belong, may be separated in two houses according to sex, unless one or the other is so crippled, defective or helpless that he or she needs the help of the other, in which case they may be allowed to stay in what may be called *Family Quarters*. These may be in a separate chawl, shed or enclosure. Similarly, each family with children may be considered on its own merits. If there are very young children, say under 4 or 5, they will have to be allowed to remain with their mothers even if the latter are separated from their husbands. Except in the above two types of cases, in the initial stages of the Industrial Home, both the sexes may be separated and the man and wife or man and woman, and parents and children may be allowed to meet during certain hours of the day. If the parents have a bad influence on their children, they will have to be separated from them more completely. If, after observations extending over a month or more, the Guardian Superintendent considers it helpful or beneficial to allow families to live together, he may do so in selected cases.

27. But it will have to be impressed on the minds of the couples that they should exercise restraint and not have children as they will be born in very unhappy and helpless conditions and that they should therefore take contraceptive measures to check births. The teaching of simple *methods of birth-control or contraception* should be a regular feature of the training of these classes of couples of child-bearing age, as both in the case of their remaining segregated in the Home or leaving it to seek employment outside, this knowledge will be of help to them if properly given. We will not discuss here the question of *sterilization of the physically or mentally unfit*, but it will force itself on the attention of the authorities handling the beggar problem sooner than they may imagine, if they are serious about a systematic and scientific handling of the problem of poverty, destitution and beggary whereof the defective and diseased form a fairly large proportion.

28. Now remain the class of defectives, diseased or disabled to be considered. These will be both *owned and disowned* or helpless. Those owned may be given away if their parents or guardians are willing to look after them and give an assurance not to trade on them or abandon them to beg in the streets. Those disowned and helpless will have to be taken care of by the Rehabilitation Committee. These will naturally be sorted out at the Shelter, whence they can be directed to suitable places according to the requirements of each case. It is

difficult at this stage to surmise the proportion of the utterly helpless or disabled population of men, women and children among the beggars of the city. The enumerators at the recent census of the Homeless for purposes of rationing guessed the figure of the disabled and defective to be about 3 to 5% in a population of about 10,000,<sup>8</sup> i.e., about 300 to 500, whereas they put the percentage of those suffering from various types of minor or major skin diseases at 7 to 8%, i.e., 700 to 800.

29. According to the Special Census of the Corporation in November 1921 referred to above ( § 6 ), there were 1,846 persons of both sexes "suffering from disabling infirmities" out of a total population of 6,883 beggars, secular as well as religious, as follows:—

	Ordinary Beggars over 16	Religious Beggars	Ordinary under 16	Total
Disabled ...	1,382	373	91	1,846
Able-bodied ...	1,983	1,598	1,456	5,037
	1,755 Disabled (Adults)			
	Male 1,249	Female 506		

30. The infirmities of these 1,846 disabled persons were classified as follows\* :—

Their classification and how to occupy the minds of some of the defective & infirm but partially capable of light work,

Nature of Infirmity		Number of Beggars including Secular and Religious		
		Above 16	Under 16	Total
1. Infirm through old age	...	598	.....	598
2. Blind in both eyes	...	543	43	586
3. Deformed	...	153	12	165†
4. Loss of limb	...	140	7	147†
5. Paralysed	...	85	3	88†
6. Of Unsound mind	...	65	4	69
7. Leprosy	...	56	1	57
8. Loathsome sores (Venereal)	...	40	3	43
9. Deaf and Dumb	...	11	1	12
10. Other infirmities	...	64	17	81
Total		1,755	91	1,846

\* Cp. Starte's Report pp. 21-22

† These descriptions do not give us much idea about the actual nature of defects, deformities or disabilities.

<sup>8</sup> Vide Footnote 2 to § 6.

According to the above tables, we find that leaving aside the religious beggars, there were about  $(1,382+91=1,473)$  persons of both sexes, who were suffering from some deformity, or disability. Whether these infirmities were of such nature as to incapacitate the persons for any productive work whatever is not stated and we may take it that the blind, deaf and dumb, some of the infirm through old age, and those who are classified as deformed or having lost a limb can be made to do some work either with their hands or legs. It would be a desirable thing to find out various types of lighter work or ancillary operations and processes which these defective or slightly infirm persons can be appropriately called upon to perform. For, it would be a good policy not to keep these people completely idle; if they are able to do some lighter work according to their capacity and occupy their minds for a few hours a day it will do them good. Besides healthily occupying their minds, they will have the satisfaction of having contributed a little towards their own keep. This may also be a lesson to the other able-bodied confrères of theirs. Moreover, the number of such people capable of partial work will be so large that it will be advantageous actually to think out and devise some lighter kind of work for these various types of defective or partially infirm people.

31. The consideration of the above will also help us to decide upon the place or places where these defective, diseased or disabled persons may be kept. Now we cannot rely upon the above figures for calculating the present probable total number of disabled and defective or the number according to each classification. For, since 1921, the numbers may have been reduced because of suitable institutions like hospitals, infirmaries or dharmashalas taking care of some of these persons from the streets. All the same, we may have to deal with about 500 to 1,000 of such persons, *the largest of this group even now being the infirm thorough old age.*

32. As regards the *blind*, the *leprous* and the *insane*, it would be better to send them to the existing appropriate institutions in and outside the city that care for such persons. If the numbers become gradually so large that the respective institutions are unable to accommodate them because of shortage of funds for requisite expenditure or lack of living space, it would be advisable to help them to raise funds or contribute a certain minimum share of expenses for every additional person sent to them by the Rehabilitation Committee than to start new homes or institutions for such persons on its own, as it will be much more costly to do so, and perhaps the relief rendered may not be as effective or good as the established institutions will be able to render with their highly specialised knowledge and facilities developed from long experience. Thus it

will be better to take the help of institutions like the Victoria Memorial School for the Blind at Tardeo Road, the Sonavala Andhakshi Ashram for Blind Women and Girls at Andheri, the Dadar School for the Blind (educational for children upto 16), the Blind Relief Association Industrial Home at Worli, the N. M. Petit Mental Hospital at Thana, the Hospital for Mental Diseases at Poona, the Acworth Leper Home at Matunga, the Abless Leper Home at Chembur, etc.

33. There will be another class of defectives, diseased or infirm, who

Those needing  
constant medical  
attention to be sent  
to King George V  
Infirmary.

will require *constant medical attention or specialised treatment*.

The best place for such people would be the *King George V Memorial Infirmary*, which is conveniently situated in the City and where they can get both medical care and nursing. With some expansion, if necessary, on its available grounds, it can accommodate a much larger number than 80 to 100 as hitherto of the acute cases needing constant medical care, and if funds have to be made available for the cases sent to it by the Rehabilitation Committee, it would be financially more advantageous to do so than to found another similar institution with the same purpose, as will have to be done for the number of chronic and acute deformed and defective that will be found with or among the beggar population of the City. This institution has still spacious grounds at its disposal and with the augmentation of some staff and one or two cheaper structures, it can easily take in about 100 to 150 cases more if their maintenance charges at about twelve to fourteen annas per person are provided.

34. The next type of *Infirmary* ( अशक्त घात ) that we will require will be

Infirmary for  
others and Asylum  
for the Aged.

for the paralysed, deformed, deaf and dumb, those who have lost a limb, and such others, but not requiring constant medical attention or nursing. For such types of cases, the best place for an Infirmary will be one close and attached to the In-

dustrial Home where the able-bodied persons are to be lodged. For, the Ayahs, Ward boys, Attendants, Sweepers and others, who will be required for taking care of these, can be found and trained from among the able-bodied men and women; the cooking can be done by the kitchen department for the feeding of the able-bodied persons and the same supervising and clerical staff can look after the institution with the help of a matron, a few nurses and ayahs, thus saving a considerable amount in the cost of running a separate infirmary at a detached centre. Besides, some of the defectives can, as stated above, use their hands and legs and give some productive service, if and when possible. A further advantage will be the possibility of training which the attached Infirmary will afford to able-bodied men and women as ward-boys, attendants, ayahs, domestic servants and the like.

For the same reason, the *Asylum* ( वृद्ध विराम ) for the aged and infirm

should also be located near the Industrial Home so that those, who can do some light work, may do so and if they are too old and infirm, the work of attending to their needs may be done by men and women drafted from the able-bodied section of the inmates of the Industrial Home. Besides, located as these various institutions will be in a less crowded part of the outskirts of the city or the suburbs, their running will cost much less than if they were located in the city, where they need not be. I believe Chembur will be a very suitable place for such people.

35. All these three types of the diseased, deformed or infirm, aged and infirm, and ordinary defective infirm will require feeding, clothing and lodging, and some medical care and nursing. They will be a fairly heavy liability, and a constant one at that, until their numbers are gradually reduced by a better care of the poor and destitute by some sort of country-wide legislation like Poor Law or Social Insurance. For, till then, the beggars, destitutes and poverty-stricken will be producing underfed, under-nourished, maimed and mutilated progeny easily prone to disease, defects and deformities.

36. It will happen that some of the able-bodied men and women may give trouble in the Industrial Home, some may commit small offences, thefts, etc.; some may be idlers, some shirkers, some may be violent or querulous and the Guardian Superintendent and his subordinates will, therefore, have to be given certain powers to punish for first, second, third or frequent offences or breach of discipline. These punishments may be suited to the gravity of the offence, but the first general objective of the Home should be to reform or reorientate the inmate through indirect and persuasive or educative influence by providing a suitable atmosphere in which he or she lives and works. The idea of condemnation or punishment should be absent as far as possible in the normal routine of the Home to which the beggar is first introduced. It should not be taken to be a *Reformatory or Prison* but a *real Home for Rehabilitation*, and the spirit of genuine helpfulness through understanding of the past and present life history and condition of the individual beggar and beggar-family should actuate the rehabilitation efforts of the Home and its officials.

37. However, with the best of atmosphere and intentions, there will be hardened souls who will revolt against discipline and the so-called confinement in a reform home. Minor punishments such as reproach, withholding of a meal, prolongation of the period of remand in the Home, or not allowing the good-behaviour period for earlier release, etc., may be inflicted in case of deliberate and frequent violation of discipline or bad behaviour by the Guardian



Superintendent or his Assistant. If the inmates are still unrepentant, cause trouble or refuse to submit themselves to discipline, a charge sheet may be framed against them and they may be produced before a Magistrate who may give a punitive sentence ranging from a few days to some months in the *Work-House or Penitentiary* (सुधार खाना). The incorrigibles and those that are caught begging a third time after two previous convictions and remand for begging may be sent to this institution, where the treatment should be humane but where discipline should be firm and the offenders are put to hard work such as of grinding corn, agriculture and dairy work, etc., in addition to all the household work for themselves such as sweeping their own premises, cooking their own food, washing their own clothes, etc. However, the spirit pervading the Work-House or Penitentiary should not be exactly that of a prison and the inmates should not be brutalised or hardened into criminals by unduly harsh treatment. The object should be to make the inmate or offender feel sorry for his offence, violation of rules, breach of discipline or persistent anti-social behaviour and bring him round. The officials of the Industrial Home should not be entirely out of touch with the inmates of the Penitentiary and gentle methods of reform through persuasion and some kindness should be simultaneously employed.

38. For the above reasons, however, the institution recommended above will have to be located not far from the Industrial Home, **Its Management.** (though it should be at some distance from it), and should be in its own enclosure with a necessary wall. The officials in charge should be different from those of the Industrial Home at least after the number of such incorrigibles has reached over 20 or 25. This institution should not be started till some experience in the running of the Industrial Home has been acquired.

A word or two may be said here about the remand of the beggar to the Shelter and housing him in the Industrial Home. At the first arrest, as we have already indicated before, we need not treat him harshly but try our best to rehabilitate him if he is amenable to such kindly treatment. The Shelter Supervisor may have the power to release him under circumstances, already stated, before his term of remand for three months or less expires. The Guardian Superintendent of the Industrial Home and Asylum-Infirmiry should have similar powers of releasing the inmates after a shorter or longer period on the first arrest and remand, if he is satisfied that the inmate so released is genuinely desirous of going back to normal life and will not revert to begging.

On the second arrest of a released inmate, however, the term of institu-

tionalisation will have to be longer, say six months, and he will have to remain under strict surveillance, and his movements and freedom in the Industrial Home will have to be curtailed. Such second arrests will have to be housed in a separate shed, perhaps under a watchman in order to prevent them from absconding. That is also the reason why we have suggested a wall or enclosure for the Industrial Home of the able-bodied and the engagement of night and day watchmen. In case of the second remands, the Shelter Supervisor or Guardian Superintendent should have no power to release, but if he is satisfied that after three months of stay, the inmate may be released with advantage, he may make a recommendation accordingly to the Management Committee or to the Magistrate who may pass orders as he thinks advisable.

With regard to those arrested for a third time for begging, and especially those who had absconded from the Shelter, Industrial Home, Asylum or Infirmary, stricter punishment and control may be necessary. So long, however, as they are willing, they may be put to productive work; if they refuse, shirk, malingering or commit breaches of discipline or commit frequent offences they must be dealt with as a class of incorrigibles. It will, however, be a matter for consideration as to whether able-bodied inmates should be allowed to remain in the Industrial Home longer than a year. If they are such as to be unable to find work or look after themselves, give no trouble and like to remain under the sheltered care of the Institution, willingly doing the entrusted work, the institution should undertake the responsibility of housing, feeding and providing productive work for such persons in their interest as well as of the entire idea of rehabilitation. But generally it should be the aim of the institution to train and rehabilitate the able-bodied person in such a way that he is able to take care of himself as an ordinary citizen after institutional care of a short duration. For the same reasons, those destitutes, who, instead of resorting to begging voluntarily, seek refuge in the Shelter or Industrial Home will have to be provided for in a suitable way after proper investigation.

### PART III

#### MANAGEMENT AND FINANCE

39. As already stated above, the tackling of the beggar question is a country-wide problem and it will ultimately have to be handled on that scale if a satisfactory solution thereof is contemplated. In the long run it will certainly defy scattered and desultory efforts of individual cities or provinces, for, the beggars migrate from long distances and a majority of those found in a city very often belong not to the city itself nor to the province in the sense that they are born there,

Organisation,  
Management and  
Finance.

but to other cities or provinces.<sup>9</sup> For the effective handling of the problem, *repatriation* and *prohibition of unauthorised immigration* into the city of foreign or non-indigenous beggars will have to be two important remedial measures, and to achieve that co-operation between Provinces and States, co-ordination and legislation on an all-India basis by the Central Government will be necessary. That stage may, however, be long to reach, even though inevitable at last, once the problem of beggars is begun to be seriously tackled by the metropolitan cities.

However that may be, we have already stressed the necessity of close co-operation between the Provincial Government, the Municipal Corporation and the citizens in general for a proper handling of the beggar problem in our own city. All the three bodies will have to share the responsibility not only of raising the finances but also of management and supervision of the institutions as interested parties.

40. As regards finances, I believe as the beggars are not all or even a majority of them made in the city but come from mofussil towns and villages of the province and from beyond the provincial borders, the Provincial Government must bear the major share of the expenses, in the ultimate analysis, the general tax-payer. Now a major portion of the expenses can be met if the Government at least for some time to come, agree to set apart a varying percentage of the *Urban Immovable Property Tax* for the expenses of this scheme of rehabilitating the beggars. At present they levy in the city of Bombay a tax of  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$  or  $7\frac{2}{3}\%$  on properties according to their annual Ratable Value is above Rs. 500 or 2,000, those below Rs. 500 being exempted. This tax in the City brings them an annual revenue of about Rs. 88,00,000. If  $\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{2}{3}$  of 1% or 1% of such a tax on properties in the City were set aside for the handling of the beggar problem, the amount would come to about Rs. 7,25,000, Rs. 11,00,000 and Rs. 14,50,000 on a total Ratable Value of about Rs. 14½ crores exclusive of exemptions allowed under the Municipal Act.

The Bombay Municipality collects the U. I. P. Tax for Government and

<sup>9</sup> For instance, when a survey of the beggars of about 16 Wards of the City of Calcutta was made by Dr. E. Muir of the School of Tropical Medicine some 9 years ago, it was found that they were composed of the following indigenous and immigrant population :—

From	Non-leprous beggars	Leprous Beggars
Bengal	471	21
Bihar & Orissa	389	53
United Provinces	121	22
Central Province	78	120
Others	1,155	8
	2,214	224

( The Calcutta Municipal Gazette, Sixth Health Number—pp. 25-28. )

receives a rebate of 2% on the total amount for its expenses of collection. The Government can earmark this  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1% of the Urban Property Tax for the expenses of the beggar salvage scheme at least for the time being till other sources of taxation can be found, though there is no reason why this source may not be allowed to continue even when the U. I. P. Tax is abolished or given up in favour of the Municipality as its exclusive sphere of taxation. Such a tax can also be collected in other provincial cities, as is done at present in Ahmedabad and Sholapur, and even in smaller towns to meet what will ultimately be a much larger expenditure of rehabilitating the very large number of beggars in the whole province. The Municipality can forego its rebate on the collection of the tax for this purpose or contribute a certain amount as its own share.

As the beggars would hail from all over the province, when the expenditure rises over this revenue from the property tax, a certain proportion, upto a maximum of the same amount as realised from the  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 % tax, may be contributed by the Provincial Government from the general provincial revenues in order effectively to tackle this problem of beggars which, in its ultimate analysis, will be a problem of solving the social malaise of poverty, destitution and malingering.

41. Other sources of revenue would be a large number of communal Charity Trusts or Endowments, wealthy philanthropists and the public or citizens at large. There are several Hindu Sadāvrats, Dharmashālās and Trusts and Muslim Wakfs and Jamātkhānās that provide meals to the poor and destitute, feed beggars as well as Brahmins, Śādhus and Fakirs. Some have regular premises and endowments whose incomes are utilised to distribute dry rations or cooked meals.<sup>10</sup> Some of these can be induced to divert their income to feed a fixed number of beggars at the Shelter, Industrial Home, Asylum or Infirmary for a fixed number of days or 365 days of the year according to their income or the amount they can spare for the purpose. The required or agreed number may be assigned to each of the Sadavrats, Trusts or Wakfs offering their co-operation. Similar appeals to feed or bear the full expenses of maintenance of one or more beggars occasionally or all the year round can be made to charitably or religiously minded citizens, and it is reasonable to hope that the appeal of a well organised body of reputed citizens, Corporators and Government Officials will not go in vain.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> A list of these is under preparation.

<sup>11</sup> A person who gives a sum of Rs. 3,000, the interest of which may be used for maintaining one helpless, infirm or aged beggar throughout the year, may have a *plaque* or *tablet* inscribed on a Memorial Pillar of Donors to be kept at a suitable place. This might induce several citizens to contribute their mite towards the scheme either in their own name or in the names of their dear departed ones.

42. The various institutions can be under the charge of the Government

The Rehabilitation Committee or Committee of Management and Representation thereon.

or Municipality, the officials being under either one of the departments of the Secretariat or the Municipal Commissioner, with Government or Municipal Service and Pension or Provident Fund Rules and Regulations being made applicable to them.

However, as Charity Trusts, Endowments and the public will always be in a position to make a contribution towards the expenses of the rehabilitation of beggars, it would be advisable to let them have some representation on the management of what may be called the Poor Man's Rehabilitation Scheme. The Committee of Management may not however be made an unwieldy body and I would suggest the following *tentative* composition of the Rehabilitation Committee:—

Eight representatives of Government, including (1) the Secretary and (2) Under-Secretary of the Department in Charge, (3) the Commissioner of Police, (4) the Commissioner of Labour, (5) the Labour Welfare Officer, (6) the Officer in Charge of King George V Infirmary, who will also represent the Salvation Army and two others, preferably representing the two Railway Administrations.

Six representatives of the Municipal Corporation, inclusive of the Mayor and the Municipal Commissioner or his Deputy, and four Corporators.

Four representatives of the Sadāvrats, Wakfs, Trusts, etc., donating not less than Rs. 1,000 in cash or kind per annum—appointed at a meeting of one representative of each of such trusts called by Government for the purpose at a place appointed by them.

Four representatives of the donor citizens of Rs. 100/- per annum and upwards elected at a meeting of such donors in the year, called by Government on an appointed day for the purpose.<sup>12</sup>

43. The Secretary of the Government Department in Charge may pre-

President, Vice-President, Secretaries, and other Office Bearers.

side at the meetings called once a month or oftener as required, or the Committee may be allowed to elect its own President for a term of 3 years, so that the services of a person conversant with the working of the institutions may be available, which would not happen if the President were to change every year. A Vice-

President to preside in the absence of the President; he may be elected, one of the members and one of the superior officials in charge of one of the institutions, preferably the Industrial Home, may act as Jt. Hon. Secretaries, the other Jt.

<sup>12</sup> It would be advisable to appoint on the Committee one or two representatives of the Children's Aid Society so that easier cooperation and interchange of experience between the Society and Rehabilitation Committee may be rendered possible to the advantage of both the bodies. With the same end in view it may be helpful to appoint one representative each of the Social Service League and the Salvation Army on the Committee.

Secretary holding office for three years in order to preserve continuity of working.

The officers in charge of the Shelter, Industrial Home, Asylum, Infirmary and the Work-House or Penitentiary may be ordinarily allowed to attend the meetings and when their presence is not required, they may be requested to leave the meetings for the time being. They may supply the required information to the Committee, whereas the Guardian Superintendent of the Industrial Home and Asylum and Infirmary may act as the permanent Jt. Secretary of the Committee. For purposes of coordination of the work of various institutions under the Scheme, he may be appointed as the supervising authority over all of them.

Much will depend upon the interest the members of the Committee will take, but much more certainly on the officials chosen to take charge of the various institutions. They will have to be men of training, vision and adaptability with a broad outlook on life, broader human sympathies, and vigour and zeal for execution. In any case they must be men who have received some training and practical experience of the type of welfare work they will be called upon to do.

44. The above is a rough skeleton for the Scheme for handling the rather difficult but not baffling problem of beggars. It will

The problem will have to be tackled gradually as funds, accommodation and arrangements permit and not all at once.

have to be discussed in greater detail by a Committee of interested and experienced members, suitably amended as required and the lacunæ duly filled in. The problem will present difficulties in the initial stages but they will not be insurmountable if the Government, the Municipality and the citizens in general are willing to play their respective part and begin on a modest scale. None should think that the entire beggar population of the city should or could be arrested and institutionalised in a day, a month or an year. Effect may be given to the Enactment gradually arrests may be made in smaller batches as our facilities permit. If the proposed institutions are filled up sooner than expected, the seizure activities may be slowed down till more room, more facilities and the requisite funds are available.

A programme of arrests after the enactment of legislation may be prepared and those suffering from loathsome sores, leprosy, crippling defects and contagious or infectious diseases may be arrested first and appropriately dealt with as suggested above. Batches of able-bodied men and women of a pestering and persistent type, well known to all pedestrians and the public travelling by bus, tram, and train, may be attended to in manageable numbers later or simultaneously from certain places popular with the beggars. This will have a very salutary effect on a large number of the begging fraternity and

their leaders or organisers who may then be compelled to direct their attention elsewhere.

45. The present is an opportune time for making a start, for the accommodation for the initial two Institutions most necessary for our purpose, viz., the Shelter and the Industrial Home with two Infirmaries and Asylum for the aged, can already be made available. There is room for 70 to 80 infirm and about 150 destitute inmates at the King George V Memorial Infirmary and Lady Dhunbai Home for the Destitutes at Ilaines Road, and accommodation for 500 to 600 inmates in the sheds created for the Evacuation Camp at Chembur. With further negotiations with the authorities in charge of the two institutions and with suitable legislation which can be passed expeditiously the work can begin after the initial personnel has been engaged. No doubt a good deal of hard work lies ahead of the organisers, but the problem calls for such work and its successful solution will be its own reward.

From the city the handling of the problem may spread to other sister cities in the province with mutual cooperation to the entire province in due course. Later, the inter-provincial problems of repatriation, bearing proportionate expenditure of its own provincials, etc., may have to be tackled and the Central Government may have to be moved to legislate on an all-India scale. These are inevitable corollaries, but the first spade work has to be done by and in the metropolitan cities. The problem after all cannot be so gigantic as to defy all earnest attempts, which, we must remember, have not been properly adequately made so far; and if systematically tackled, will yield to a solution, if not immediately, certainly in due course. But there can be no two opinions about the fact that a beginning has to be made some day by either Government or some citizen public.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The Scheme has been worked out with a view to make it applicable to large cities. Smaller towns will however have similar problems to face though on a minor scale. Each small town may not be able to provide the different kinds of institutions required for different types of beggars, nor can they afford singly to incur such expenditure. Besides, if the number of persons to be cared for is small, it would be wasteful to provide different types of institutions and engage efficient personnel for each one of them as required. For such smaller towns, it would be better to combine and locate the various institutions in one central and convenient place and bear proportionate expenditure according to the number of beggars in their particular jurisdiction. Several neighbouring taluka towns or a whole district can thus combine, avail themselves of the existing specialized institutions for lepers, blind, insane or cripple in the District and only found such additional institutions as required in a conveniently accessible and suitable centre, contributing their proportionate quota of expenditure to the entire Scheme. One or more towns will either have to take the initiative in such cases or the head of the District will have to do so inviting the Government and local bodies to a preliminary conference to work out the details of such a scheme for the District or a group of towns.

PART IV

ESTIMATES OF PERSONNEL AND EXPENDITURE OF VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS

APPENDIX I

46. It is difficult to give an exact idea of the personnel of a new institution and the expenditure that may have to be incurred on its conduct and maintenance, and the difficulty of even an approximate guess increases when the institution contemplated is of a complex nature with an indefinite number of inmates, some of whom may remain in the Institution for an indefinite period, while others may be able to do productive work and earn a part of their keep. We shall not therefore, attempt any exact figures for the recurring and non-recurring expenditures shown against each item or institution but the figures are given so that the Committee working on the execution of such a Scheme may have a rough idea of the liabilities that may be involved.

		Salary p.m. Rs.
I. Personnel and Estimates of Expenditure for the Shelter.	(1) Supervisor <sup>14</sup> .	100-5-150-10-200 + Free Quarters (or Rent of Rs. 50 p.m.)
	(2) Part-time Medical Attendant.	50
	(3) Clerk-typist (at least a Matriculate).	55-4-115-5-140
	(4) (a) Cook (with board and lodging).	30-1-40
	(b) One or two Cook's mates or assistants according to the number of inmates (with free board, quarters & clothing).	10-½-20 each
	(After some experience of the working of the Shelter, they may be chosen from among the inmates).	
	(5) Peon (with free quarters and clothing. May be chosen from among the inmates).	25-½-30
	(6) 2 Watchmen (Day and Night) with free quarters and clothing.	28-½-35 each
	(7) 2 Sweepers (with free quarters, clothing and board. May be chosen from among the inmates) <sup>15</sup> .	10-½-20 each
		356-610

<sup>14</sup> Preferably a married man so that his wife may be helpful with regard to the female side of the Shelter. Payment of some remuneration may be allowed. He may be a qualified person from the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay. If the Shelter is in its own building, the Supervisor may be provided with suitable quarters. If not, he may be provided with the actual amount of rent or Rs. 50 as House Rent Allowance whichever be less. If the Shelter can be located at the King George V Infirmary and Lady Dhunbai Home, slightly modified arrangements for personnel will have to be suggested.

<sup>15</sup> Free quarters will have to be given to all the employees if the Industrial Home is seated outside the City.



Over and above these expenses of the personnel, there will be other recurring and non-recurring expenses at the Shelter. The figures may be taken as approximate:—

	Non-recurring initial expendi- ture Rs.	Recurring <i>Annual</i> expenditure Rs.
(1) Rent of the Building at Rs. 150-200 p. m. (if one has to be hired).	...	1,800-2,400
(2a) Food for the inmates at Rs. 15/- p.m. per person at the present time and Rs. 8/- p.m.* per person in normal times. Counting an <i>average daily</i> <i>attendance</i> of 30 inmates—Rs. 300 to 600 p.m.	...	2,880-5,400
(2b) Clothing for the inmates—500 at Rs. 12 per person—shirt, shorts and forage or other cap for men; Sari, skirt, blouse for women.	...	6,000
(3) Clothing for the peon, 2 watchmen, 2 cook's mates (2 coats, 2 pairs of pants or trousers, buttons, 1 forage cap, each p.a., and 1 belt and 1 puttee extra every 2 years to each watchman).	...	125
(4) Stationery.	...	200
(5) Photographic records (1,200 persons p.a.).	...	900
(6) Sundries like Telephone (Govt. to be requested to provide free), Electricity etc.	...	500
(7) Furniture for Office and Dormitories.		
(8) Utensils for cooking and serving.	} 2,000	...
(9) Chatais, Mattresses, a few cots for the sick, etc.		
Provident Fund for the employees which will cost about Rs. 356-610 p.a.	...	356-610
	2,000	12,761-16,155
Add Salaries at Rs. 356-610 p.m.	...	4,272- 7,320
Total annual expenditure for the Shelter... Rs.		17,033-23,455

47. The following personnel is suggested for the Home:—

II. Personnel and approximate expen- diture for the In- dustrial Home.	(1) Guardian Superintendent <sup>16</sup> ... 300-15-450-20-500 p.m. (F.Q.)
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<sup>16</sup> May be even a retired official with some administrative experience. A married man may be prepared so that the wife can help on the female side of the work on payment of some remuneration.

- (2) Assistant Guardian Superintendent 100-5-150-10-200 (F.Q.)  
(preferably a Tata Graduate School  
trained man—Same as Shelter Super-  
visor—May be employed a little after the  
number of inmates begins to increase).
- (3) Textile teacher ... 75-5-150 (F.Q.)
- (4) Stenographer-clerk (at least a Matriculate). 75-4-115-5-160 „
- (5) Clerk-typist (at least a Matriculate. May 55-4-115-5-140 „  
be employed later when inmates increase.  
One of these must know First Aid).
- (6) Accounts and Stores Clerk. ... 55-4-115-5-140 „
- (7) Store-keeper (May be employed later 55-4-115-5-140 „  
when the number of inmates increases).
- (8) Part-time Medical Attendant Rs. 75 p.m. 75 „
- (9) 3 Wards or Guards (Both for supervision 30- $\frac{1}{2}$ -35 each (F.Q. & Clothing  
and bringing persons from the Shelter at Rs. 25 p. a. each)  
to the Industrial Home).
- (10) 2 Peons. ... 25- $\frac{1}{2}$ -30 each do.
- (11) 2 Watchmen (Day and Night). ... 28- $\frac{1}{2}$ -35 each do.
- (12) 1 Cook for first 50 persons and more to be 35-1-45 (F. Q. and Board)  
employed gradually as numbers increase.  
(for 100 to 150 inmates, 2)  
(for 160 to 225 inmates, 3) } 30-1-40 each (F.Q. and Board)  
(for 250 and over 4).  
(Some may be trained from among the  
inmates in which case a lower scale of  
salary may be paid).
- (13) 2 Cook's mates or assistants upto 100 15-2-20 each (F.Q., Board  
persons. and Clothing)  
(3 cook's mates upto 110 to 150 persons).  
(4 cook's mates upto 160 to 200 persons).  
(5 cook's mates upto 210 to 300 persons). } 10- $\frac{1}{2}$ -20 each (F.Q., Board and  
(May be chosen mostly from among Clothing)  
the inmates).
- (14) 1 Bearer to teach the work of a Bearer to 25- $\frac{1}{2}$ -35 (F.Q., Board and  
suitable inmates. Clothing)
- (15) 5 Sweepers (may be chosen from among 2 @ 15- $\frac{1}{2}$ -20 each (F.Q.,  
the inmates). Board and Clothing)
- 3 @ 10- $\frac{1}{2}$ -20 do. do.
- (16) 1 Barber. ... 30-1-40

- (17) 2 Malis (others to learn and assist on small remuneration). 25-½-35 each (F. Q. and clothing)

Total	Rs.	1,336- 2,250 p.m. or 16,032-27,000 p.a.
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*Other Recurring Expenditure*

	Approximate Expenditure Rs.
(1a) Food for the inmates at the rate of Rs. 20 per person now and Rs. 10 per person in normal times, beginning with 50 and ultimately catering for 300 persons. (Slightly higher cost the inmates will be doing manual labour and transport charges will have to be added). (Now for 50 to 300 inmates per day). (Normally for 50 to 300 inmates per day).	12,000 - 72,000
	6,000 - 36,000
(1b) Clothing for about 700 persons @ Rs. 12 per person	8,400
(2) Taxes, water charges, etc. ...	?
(3) Clothing for 15 to 20 employees @ Rs. 25 per person p.a.	375 - 500
(4) Stationery. ...	600
(5) Sundries like Telephone (Govt. to be requested to instal free), lighting, phenyle or disinfectants, etc.	600
(6) Medicines, etc. ...	300
(7) Provision for Provident Fund Contribution. ...	1,336 - 2,250
(8) Raw Materials (Cotton, yarn, seeds, etc.) ...	?
Total ...	23,611 - 84,650 <sup>17</sup>

*Non-Recurring Expenditure*

- (1) Structures :—I would suggest that the *per capita* expenditure for living accommodation should be kept within Rs. 50 to 100. The same standard or less may be kept for the industrial sheds (for 300 persons). (To be erected of course gradually as need arises, though the planning may be done with a view to provide for 300 inmates and land may be reserved for further expansion as found necessary).

<sup>17</sup> As against these expenses of maintenance of the able-bodied inmates, there will be some income accruing from their work at the Home or earnings from outside as soon as they are employed on productive work after training. This may be roughly estimated at about Rs. 30,000 p. a.

(Each Chembur Shed has cost about Rs. 700 and can accommodate from 60 to 75 inmates, the per capita cost being Rs. 10 to 12).

(2) Furniture, utensils, chattais, mattresses, cots, medical accessories, Accident or First Aid Kit, etc. (Rs. 1,000 for 50 Rs. 6,000 for 300).	...	1,000 - 6,000
(3) Industrial equipment for 50 to 300 persons.	...	3,000 - 12,000
(4) Quarters for 7 officers and clerks.	...	23,000 - 25,000
(5) „ „ 15 to 20 inferior staff.	...	3,000 - 5,000
		<hr/> 60,000 - 108,000
Total Recurring Annual Expenditure	Rs.	39,643 - 111,650
& Non-Recurring Expenditure for the Industrial Home.	Rs.	60,000 - 108,000

48. The expenses are roughly estimated as follows:—

III. Personnel & approximate expenditure of the Asylum and Infirmary.

	Non-recurring Rs.	Annual Recurring Rs.
(1) <i>Housing</i> <sup>18</sup> for the aged and infirm @ Rs. 100 per person for 300 persons in the initial stages (to be provided by stages for 50 or 100 at a time).	30,000	
(2) Feeding @ Rs. 15 per person now and Rs. 8 per person in normal times.	...	28,800 - 54,000
(3) <i>Clothing</i> @ Rs. 20 per person per annum.	...	6,000
(4) Medicines, etc. @ Re. 1 per person per month on an average.	...	3,600
Additional Personnel for the Asylum and Infirmary.		
(5) (a) Medical Attendant—same as for Industrial Home, Rs. 75-100 p.m.	...	1,200
(b) 1 Matron @ Rs. 100-10-200 p.m. + Rs. 15 p.m. Uniform Allowance.	...	1,380 - 2,580

<sup>18</sup> I would propose a cheaper structure with a brick wall about 4 feet high from the ground, topped with bamboo matting wall upto the roof, a plinth of 1½ ft. height, a Shahbad stone-paved flooring, asbestos sheet roofing and ordinary cots and mattresses to sleep on. To start with, the sheds at the Chembur Evacuation Camp will also serve the purpose.

(c) 2 Nurses @ Rs. 50-5-100 p.m.	...	1,440 - 2,640
+ Rs. 10 p.m. Uniform Allowance.		
(6) Attendants, Ayahs, Ward Boys, Sweepers—to be drafted from among the able-bodied inmates of the Industrial Home already provided for. If extra Rs. 5 p.m. is given them—for about 30 such employees.	...	1,800
(7) 1 Barber @ 30-1-40 p.m.	...	360 - 480
(8) Provision for Provident Fund.	...	230 - 440
(9) Quarters for Matron and Nurses.	7,000	...
Total Rs.	37,000.	44,810 - 72,740

(The same supervisory, clerical and culinary staff as of the Industrial Home will suffice for this Asylum and Infirmary also at least for a year or two).

49. The expenses are roughly estimated as follows:—

IV. Personnel and approximate expenditure of the Work-House or Penitentiary.

	Non-recurring Rs.	Annual Recurring Rs.
(1) <i>Quarters</i> for about 20 to 25 inmates to start with and provision to be kept for about 50 according to increasing need @ Rs. 100 per person.	2,500—5,000	
(2) <i>Feeding</i> <sup>19</sup> (25) @ Rs. 10 p.m. (Will come in after about 2 years).	...	3,000
(3) <i>Clothing</i> (25) @ Rs. 20 p.a.	...	500
(4) Medicines, lighting, sundries, etc.	...	500
(5) Warden 75-5-125 p.m. Free Quarters	3,000	900—1,500
(6) 2 Guards 30-½-40 p.m. each Free Quarters.	800	720—960
(7) Provision for Provident Fund.	...	135—205
Total Rs.	6,300—8,800	5,755—6,665

<sup>19</sup> These persons should be able to produce some portion of their own food and clothing by working on the farm, dairy or weaving looms.

## APPENDIX II

50. We have stated in section 17 that it would be somewhat difficult

Further possibilities of employment of the able-bodied at Chembur. Dairying and Agri-Horticultural industries. and hazardous at the commencement of our Scheme to try to found agri-horticultural colonies in outlying, undeveloped parts of the province with a highly handicapped population such as of beggars. However, if the Industrial Home for rehabilitating beggars is located at the Evacuation Camp at Chembur, after a year or two, there will be very good possibilities of starting DAIRYING and AGRI-HORTICULTURAL INDUSTRIES therewith the help of the able-bodied healthy inmates.

There is a large tract of land adjoining the Camp and sufficient land therefrom can be made available to erect 1 to 5 stables accommodating 200 buffaloes each with the necessary washing places, troughs, milking sheds, store-room for fodder and shed for hay, dung receptacles, sheds for calves and quarters for milkmen, herdsman, sweepers and others. There is an excellent market for milk in the City within easy reach of Chembur and fresh milk can be despatched in vans to the City twice a day. There being fairly large grazing areas in the neighbourhood on the island itself, the dry buffaloes need not be sent out and new buffaloes in lactation bought every year, as the buffaloes can be covered by good bulls kept for the purpose at the Dairy Farm itself, thus rendering the production of milk at a cheaper rate possible. Water which will be required in large quantities, can be had from more wells dug for the purpose as well as from the tappings of the Tulsi and Vihar Mains.

VEGETABLES can be grown in the same adjoining land and cow dung cake manure easily available on the Dairy Farm will be very useful for intensive cultivation. Further plots of land of fairly good fertility are available as with the Bombay Municipality at Deonar and a portion of this can be used both for growing *cereal* crops and vegetables, in which case the Municipal Scheme of supplying sewage effluent from the Dadar Purification Plant to agriculturists at Chembur can be expedited and may prove very useful to the Home as well as profitable to the Municipality. Fairly extensive grasslands are also to be found on the island hills and flats and in the neighbouring district and they can serve both as pastures and fodder supply areas. Green fodder can also be raised for the buffaloes on the farms. The milk can find a ready market in Government and Municipal Hospitals, Maternity Homes and other institutions, and one feels the produce of 1,000 milch cattle will not be difficult to dispose of.

51. For every stable of 200 cattle about 30 persons of inferior cadre can be easily employed as milkmen, attendants, herdsman, sweepers, cleaners, labourers and other such staff, whereas drivers, dairymen, supervising staff and

some milk-men at first may have to be engaged from outside. The initial cost of livestock, sheds, store-room, utensils, van or truck, etc., for a unit of 200 milch cattle will be approximately Rs. 30,000, the salaries of the experts and supervisory staff may come to about Rs. 500 p.m. and the cost of fodder to about Rs. 4,500 to 6,000 p.m., whereas the wages of inferior labour staff will vary from Rs. 450 to 750 p.m. according as a smaller or larger number of the inmates of the Industrial Home is employed for the purpose. Details of the personnel required and the estimates of expenditure can be supplied when asked for. One very important point, however, about the dairy industry is that while there is a certain amount of risk in case the cattle catch some infectious disease, there is the possibility of income from the very moment the industry is started and fair prospects of profit if it is run well, because of the very good market for milk provided by the City. The Dairy will further help in slightly increasing the milk supply of the City which is so notoriously deficient and dear. Five stables of 200 cattle each started one after another as experience is gained will, besides, engage about 150 to 200 of the inmates in dairying alone in due course, whereas the ancillary agri-horticultural operations may absorb an equal number of men and women in course of time. Both these are, moreover, primary producing industries dependent on each other and staple industries of the country at that. From the prospect of employment elsewhere of the workers, they will afford excellent training grounds at the Industrial Home for the inmates. The inmates may further be able to produce some of the primary necessities of life for their own use. The Industrial Home or what may become an *Agrico-Industrial Colony* will thus come to be founded in due course on a fairly solid foundation of key industries for its existence on what may become and should at least be aimed at as a self-supporting basis with regard to the production of food, clothing and shelter.

## PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATION AMONG BEGGARS

AMAR CHAND BHATIA

Recently Mr. Bhatia made, with the help of a fund donated by Mr. Birla, a research study of the beggar problem in Northern India, which reveals that beggar-cum-traders, beggar-cum-wandering minstrels and a hundred such other masked professionals, are recruited and organized from all castes and tribes. In this article he gives us some description of the different kinds of organizations which exist among beggars. On the basis of his findings he maintains that beggars evolve into organisational types, with large membership and with close governments of their own, and that therefore the problem should be tackled on all fronts.

Mr. Bhatia is on the staff of the "Tribune", Lahore.

ONE of the fundamental mistakes made in grappling with the menace of beggary is that of tackling the individual beggar, without tackling the organization—the "Beggars' Brotherhood"—which exploits him and thousands of others like him with impunity. Having not as yet fully acquired active self-consciousness, the individual beggar is absorbed in the life of the hordes, without the liberation of his ego. The calculating and foreseeing action of human reason should be directed against this organised force.

The Beggar Organisation aims at joint begging, pooling of all resources accumulated through individual or group begging, joint corporative household and joint worship of a "Guru" or "Gods". Further, it maintains fraternal relationship amongst beggars coming from a particular part of the country for the purpose of joint defence against the lawful forces of the Government; and it seeks not only to minimize the trouble engendered by individual endeavours but also to eliminate inimical individuals from within its rank and file. Some of these organisations are loose and casual which scatter easily and willingly, and break many a time within a year but again come into formation according to the exigencies of time. Others are very strong, powerful, self-supporting, self-determining, authoritarian, regional and communal, and only very hard knocks can smash and disintegrate them.

During my research work in the problem of beggary in the Punjab, I found that strong organisations existed in big cities in :—(a) the colonies of beggars; (b) orphanages; (c) temples, mosques, monasteries, shrines, cemeteries; (d) poor houses maintained by "exploiters"; (e) amongst certain tribes living by river sides; (f) amongst labourers living both by wage and begging, and (g) in certain villages. Loose organisations were found amongst beggars hailing from Kashmir, Tibet and Afghanistan. They "invade" cities in organised groups in certain parts of the year and at the time of important fairs. Some parties of beggars, particularly among Pathans, were found committing thefts, robbery and kidnapping at night.



*Strong Organisations.*—In the beggar colonies of the big cities of the Punjab like Lahore, Amritsar, Jullundur, Sialkot and Rawalpindi, interesting instances of organisational work were observed. The beggars there are governed by strict elaborate codes of behaviour, stern discipline and ceremonial drinking parties.

In the colonies of Lahore and Amritsar inhabited mostly by Hindus—coming from Rohtak, Hissar and Delhi—the following particulars are noticeable. The head of the colony is called the Chowdhry. He is the most daring of all “who can beg in the presence of high police and military officers, and on all occasions”. Under him is a board of five forming a kind of panchayat to distribute the booty and to control membership. Then comes the bania who owns a small shop and is the accountant of the “Brotherhood”. His shop is the clearing-house for stolen goods. He gets two annas per rupee as his share out of the earnings of the colonists. One-fourth out of this windfall is given away by him to the policeman on duty who visits the colony every day on some pretence or the other. The beggars are to buy their things from the bania and many of them remain indebted to him. In order to pay him they slip away from the colony now and then and resort to individual begging, since the joint share distributed by the Chowdhry is insufficient. Otherwise, they move in groups. “Territories” are allotted and the groups go round the city by rotation so as not to be found by the police and the public at one and the same place. Special “squads” are organised to beg at temples and mosques and go round the churches.

Different methods of begging are assigned to different types of persons in the colony. An old, crippled man, driven by a woman in a small wooden cart, must accompany every big party. One group consisting of five or six beggars forms a singing party. Another group is sent to be scattered individually over the main roads. A blind member is brought back in the evening by the eldest male child or elderly woman of the family. The blind, the crippled and the infirm are counted as assets to the colony.

A party of fortune-tellers is asked to stick to one road every day. Amongst them some own sparrows whose particular movements and picking and choosing the questions, and the owner’s answers decide the fate of the passerby who wishes to know his future. The story-tellers are different. They begin a story and end it by selling inefficacious drugs and medicines.

A party is specially trained in the art of terrifying respectable people by loud noises and uncouth words. He that can lash out the bloodiest oaths is computed to be the bravest fellow. The roarer is usually asked to go into a bazaar and stand in front of a shop and abuse the owner indiscriminately. After some time he begins giving blessings and then makes his demands. The

knowledge of the family of the shopkeeper is obtained beforehand by a reconnaissance expert of the colony, and is doled out to the person who is deputed to "picket" the shop. Many a time such picketing goes on for days together till the shopkeeper climbs down.

Many of these beggars are given training in keeping their noses, lips and ears closed by means of various devices. The practice lasts for one year or so. They are sent out individually. So are those who can easily foam at the mouth by cleverly hiding a lump of soap between their teeth and conveniently fall into convulsions; and those who have a genius for disguise can be altered to a ponderous deformity with something elephantine in the folds of bandages about their legs, the stoop of the broad shoulders, and the repulsive and pendulous lip. Everything is done with considerable ingenuity, and simpler and less painful method is by the use of an old rag with butter, frankincense, brimstone and resin, blood and cream. Some of them (especially women), who can easily amputate or dislocate their arms and legs or can by pose as being lame, are sent on special expeditions to persuade the credulous brandishing documents garnished with huge seals or signatures. They pretend that their homes and husbands had been burnt and that they were left destitute, or that a famine, an earthquake or a flood had driven them to begging.

Some mix the rust of iron with unslaked lime and soap and spread this over a leather strap which they then bind to their legs. When the strap is removed, most of the skin of the leg comes with it. And blood is rubbed on the sore flesh. At night time they retire to a place undoing the bandages of their false wounds, and unstiffening their sound and vigorous knees which had been bound up since the morning in a thousand ligatures. Others prepare their sore legs withcelandine and ox-blood for the morrow. Many attend the fairs and festivals in the garb of a sadhu accompanied by 'chelas besmeared with dust'.

Among the lesser orders of their "Brotherhood" are those who have acquired the trick of doubling back their tongue so as to make it appear that they had been born dumb. Their favourite story is that they had had their tongues cut off for speaking disrespectfully of "Durga Matta". In fact their trick is that they tie a thread to the end of their tongues and "communicate" this to some paste which they also swallow, thus drawing the tongue back and securing it. Some small boys are kept by the beggars on a special reducing diet so that they can be thin enough to worm through ventilators of big bungalows easily. Others are taught how to keep their eyes closed throughout the day so that they may look blind while begging.

These beggars have, with the proverbial subtlety of their kind, turned begging into a mysterious and esoteric art. Of course, the cause of their art

is not unattended by greater sacrifice. In fact, if a beggar is a rogue, he is, at the same time, a jolly rogue. And he sings:

We have great gain, with little pain  
And lightly spend it too;  
We do not toil, nor yet we moil,  
As other poor folks do.  
We are winners all three,  
And so will we be,  
Wherever we go.  
For we know how  
To bend and bow  
And to do what is to be done

.....  
Nine hundred rupees this cripple had got  
By begging and thieving—so good was his lot,  
A thousand rupees he would make it, he said,  
And then he would give over his trade.

Thus goes the impotent cripple, nasty, ragged, lowsy, unclean, poor, dejected, humble, bare-legged, bare-armed, dark and deceitful beggar of the colony, swaggering along the streets of big cities.

When the head of a colony is installed wine is poured over his head and distributed amongst the members of the assembly. The newly-elected chief of the colony then asks them to repeat with him the Ten Vows which are:

- (1) We shall obey the chief.
- (2) We shall keep faith with our fellows.
- (3) We shall keep counsel of the brothers.
- (4) We shall share in all matters of the "Brotherhood".
- (5) We shall not hear the "Brotherhood" ill-spoken of without seeking vengeance.
- (6) We shall share all winnings.
- (7) We shall keep true appointments or attend meetings by day or night at any place so decided.
- (8) We shall not divulge the secret of the place.
- (9) We shall harm no fellow-beggars.
- (10) We shall marry according to the dictates of the panchayat of the colony.

At the time of marriage both the bride's and bridegroom's party are to contribute Rs. 5/8/- each and an equal amount is added by the other beggars. Meat and wine are distributed to celebrate the occasion.

The chief's powers are absolute. In one colony it was complained that,

in order to increase his income, he allowed his daughter and wife to go to the railway clerk's quarters to earn their living by prostitution. But, others, though ready to follow his example, were not allowed to do so.

There are colonies exclusively of labourers, who work partly in factories and partly on roads and streets. Most of those, who grind salt, work with the parties engaged in the construction of roads and buildings and have seasonal occupations, resort to begging in groups when not employed anywhere. Just like other "colonists", they organise parties with a division of territories under the orders of their "head" who gets one-tenth of the booty brought back by an individual beggar. There is no pooling of resources and every beggar delivers the share himself. The headman is a clever rogue and no beggar can baulk him of the tenth division of the spoils. He keeps spies on his parties whom he helps in getting employment in the city. He is a landlord who leases his land for the construction of cottages. For each cottage he charges 12 annas per head in addition to the one-tenth share out of the earnings of a beggar. At ceremonies, like the initiation of members, marriages, betrothals, installation of gods, he also gets his due share which amounts sometimes to about fifty rupees.

The Lahore Corporation had tried many a time to come to grips with one such "head" but he always escaped like his "brothers" to other colonies, because being a Mohammadan, if harassed, he is able to make it a communal question with the help of his co-religionists. The beggars, however, are mostly Hindus. A striking feature of these beggar-colonists is that their children and women are also expert beggars. In many cases the head of the family does not beg but the other members do it in groups.

Some orphanages in the "big" cities of the Punjab, usually send their inmates early in the morning every day to various parts of the city as singing parties to collect alms. Some of them are bogus institutions and have been found many a time to be so by the police. Yet they spring up now and then under the patronage of a clever beggar-cum-trader. He is beyond the clutches of the law, and works with impunity. In a remote corner of a mohalla in the city, far off from the guards of the police, a few rooms are rented in some family quarters for keeping a few children and these are sent one by one till they assemble in a particular street where they start begging. Hindu children go to Hindu quarters, the Muslim to the Muslim quarters. A few Sikh children are also organised but they work individually and not in groups. They generally collect wheat-flour, mustard oil and ghee but rarely money.

The orphanages, that are registered bodies, do not encourage daily begging in the cities of the Punjab, but organise parties on ceremonial occasions. A few representatives of such orphanages, carrying locked boxes, are sent to

railway stations where they harangue the tired travellers, and get monetary help from them. Many cases of bogus representatives carrying on the trade in the name of registered orphanages by paying something to the ticket-collector or the police have been traced. Some time back the police found a gang of clever men, engaged in such a trade, dividing the accumulations amongst themselves. At their headquarters in Amritsar, a large number of fictitious railway tickets, and boxes belonging to certain registered orphanages were recovered by the police. Their chief had his own house, a palatial building, and a number of disciples working under him. They would go as far as Calcutta and Peshawar, and were alleged to have alliance with certain railway officials and the police.

In some temples and mosques the Guru or the Pir sends his chelas (disciples) round the city in the morning every day for begging. The collections are generally his property. The *gaddi* passes on to the eldest Chela. The others stay for being trained in the art of worshipping gods and have their meals and other comforts satisfied all gratis. These are religious orders pure and simple. Many of them are of the highest respectability. The members living in monasteries or shrines live quiet, peaceful lives, keeping open the house to travelling sadhus or pirs, training their neophytes and exercising sometimes a wholesome influence upon the people in the neighbourhood. But there are a few such institutions which are strongholds of kidnappers and women seducers. Many cases of 'boy-hunters' have been traced by me during my research work, especially in Amritsar, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Jullundur. Some of the orders, however, do not keep up regular monasteries but travel about begging and visiting their disciples, though even here they generally have permanent headquarters in some village or at some shrine or temple where one of their order officiates. Their disciples are called Sewakas (in the case of Hindus) and Murids (in the case of Muslims). In some cases they marry and have carnal or bindi children. Generally they have spiritual children in their chelas, many of whom are notoriously profligate debauchees, wandering about the country, seducing women, extorting alms by the threat of curses, and relying on their saintly appearance for protection.

The Faqirs in the garb of regular orders, are generally seen wandering about the country living on the alms of the credulous, often hardly knowing the names of the orders to which the external signs they wear would show them to belong. Such men are mere beggars, not ascetics; their number is unfortunately large in the Punjab. The Faqir class have in their hands the custody of petty shrines, the menial service of village temples and mosques, the guardianship of cemeteries and similar semi-religious offices. For these services they often receive small grants of land from the village, by cultivating

which they supplement the alms and offerings they receive.

The Bairagis are divided into several sections, each section being controlled by a head who is worshipped and offered a yearly fee. They are, for the most part, concentrated in monasteries and are exceedingly respectable. They are most numerous in the Jamuna districts (about 3,000 families), and are to be found in almost equal numbers in Amritsar, Lahore and Ferozepore districts. In Karnal, villages are held by descendants of both the children and disciples of the Bairagi monks. The Sanyasis, almost 2,000 families, were found in the Hissar district. The Gosavis appear to be confined mostly to the south-eastern districts.

The Sadhus are found in large numbers in the Upper Ganges—Jamuna Doab. From Farukhabad upwards their religious ceremony consists in eating together and running a common kitchen. The earnings are pooled and the meals prepared by them in turn. They hail mostly from Delhi and Hissar districts and Rohtak. A strong fraternity exists among them and one Guru alone has thousands of chelas controlled by "Sub-Gurus" appointed by the chief. In the Shivalas are to be found well-organised Jogi Faqirs. About 5,000 families are scattered all over the Province. They are well-knit through a head who is paid Rs. 100/- every three months by each district under him.

The Aghori sect is found wandering about the streets stark naked leading a jackal or a dog by a string, besmeared with blood and carrying the same substance in a skull, with which to bespatter him who refuses them alms. The sect is under the "Akharas" which has branches all over the province and is governed by a council presided over by a chief.

Among the Suthra Shahi sect some are notorious for gambling, thieving, drunkenness, and debauchery and lead a vagabond life, begging and singing songs of a mystic nature. They wear ropes of black wool on the head and neck and beat two small black (chips) sticks together as they beg. They respect the territorial rights of every comrade of their sect as assigned to him by their Guru living generally in a village and sharing the bounty afforded by his disciples.

About 8,000 male and 2,000 female Udasis, who believe in the Adi Granth of Guru Nanak, were found scattered all over the Province in monasteries under their chiefs with whom they shared their earnings. Many of them are clad in loin-cloth or *Kachha*. Generally they keep to Gurudwaras but on occasions of big fairs are seen in temples joining the ceremonies there. They have followers amongst Hindus who pay their homage to them in cash on every Tuesday.

The Nirmalas (without stain) living almost entirely in monasteries, have a high reputation for morality. They have their big community at Amritsar

and are governed by a Council, known as the Akhara, which visits periodically the Nirmala societies throughout the province which are controlled by a head Abbot or Mahant. About 2,000 families were found in Amritsar and Jullunder alone. They go as far as Bombay and Calcutta for begging.

The Diwana Sadhus ("Mad Saints"), coming generally from the Kangra district, are governed by a panchayat for their activities of begging. They have big colonies there, and strict rules and regulations are maintained for the admission of members. A Gurn controls them and assigns individual and group duties in various seasons.

*Muslim Beggars.*—Amongst the Mussalmans organised begging is resorted to by the following orders:—

(a) The Bharais or Pirahis. About 4,000 in Lahore and Ferozepur districts; about 2,500 in Gujranwala district; confined mostly to the central and sub-mountain districts and states. They go about beating a drum and begging in the name of Sakhi Sarwar, and conduct parties of pilgrims to the shrines at Nigaha. They also receive the offerings of the local shrines. They circumcise boys in western districts and often act as Mirasis, for whom they are often mistaken. On the lower Indus they supersede the barber as circumcisers. It is said that the prophet gave his coat (pairahan) to one of their ancestors as a reward for circumcising a convert after a barber had refused to do so.

(b) The Madaris control many shrines. In the Punjab this order has about 25,000 males, 2,000 females, mostly in Ambala, Ludhiana, Jullunder, Hoshiarpur, Amritsar, Sialkot and Ferozepur.

(c) The Malang order (a branch of the Madaris) lives mostly in Patiala, Malerkotla, Jullunder and Ferozepur. The members annually assemble at a certain place, offerings are collected and matters concerning the welfare of all are discussed.

(d) The Benawa order of Faqirs is found mostly in the Jamuna districts and Rohtak.

(e) The Jalali order has followers in the Jullunder, Amritsar and Lahore divisions. Candidates for admission to the order shave completely, burn their clothes and are branded on the right shoulder.

(f) The Hussaini order has more females than males among their members and are confined mostly to Gurgaon.

(g) The Qudiris are followers of Pir Dastagir whose shrine is at Baghdad. Found mostly in the Ambala, Amritsar and Lahore divisions, they sit for hours outside houses in the city repeating: "Thou art the guide, Thou art the truth, there is none but Thee."

(h) Colonies of Darveshes (another sect of Faqirs) are to be found in Batala and Pathankot and in Amritsar and Kapurthala. They cultivate a little

land, play musical instruments, beg, make ropes, go to a house where there has been a death and chant the praises of the deceased, and hang about mosques. Many recruits are allowed to enter the order on payment of a yearly fee to the head of a place or of a district as the case may be.

(i) Like the Qadiris the Naqshbandias, the followers of Khwaja Pir Muhammed Naqshband, found mostly in the Amritsar division, worship at shrines or on invitation by illiterate folks, by sitting perfectly silent and motionless, with bowed head and eyes fixed on the ground. For these performances they get alms which they share amongst themselves.

(j) The Chistti Faqirs, the followers of Bandh Nawaz, whose shrine is at Kalbaragah and who are confined to the eastern half of the province, worship by leaping up and gesticulating and repeating "Allah-ya-Allah-Hir" till they work themselves into a frenzy and at last sink down exhausted. They divide villages among themselves and beg only in the territories assigned to them by their head. An annual meeting of the order is held in a central place by rotation where their chief is offered the share of the six-monthly earnings.

*Loose Organisations.*—Certain tribal beggars, like Sansis and Aheris, determined and fearless, living near river sides, come into the city in organised parties at night for begging. They resort to thefts and kidnappings while giving the impression to the citizens that they are out to collect bread. This is in fact a loose type of organisation only meant for burglaries.

Amongst the outsiders the Kashmiri beggars, who come down to the Punjab in winter, are somewhat better organised than the Pathans or the Tibetans, the Bhatts or the Rawals, the Bhandis or the Bahurupias. A party of 100 Kashmiri beggars belonging to Mirpur Khas, Pahlgan and other parts of Kashmir, was discovered selling horses and after the sale begging in groups. A head is chosen as the party starts from Kashmir; his orders are obeyed so long as the party remains engaged in their "trade". Their women folk prepare meals together. When the party is to leave for another place a group goes ahead to select the place to settle and the others follow. At the fag end of winter the party is dissolved and individuals allowed to go their own way.

The Tibetans also come down to the Punjab in winter, in groups of eight or ten. They arrange to get one or two beggars from the Punjab and with his or their help travel all over the province. At Amritsar they keep their headquarters near Darbar Sahib (in which they have great faith). Their parties, after travelling up to Peshavar, assemble again at Amritsar; matters of common interest are discussed throughout a whole day and night. There is no Chowdhry but the cleverest of all is selected to preside over meetings and conduct its deliberations. After Dewali they move down to Delhi and other places.

The Gipsies are another tribe of beggars having a loose type of organi-



sation.' They generally keep to the villages and practise tumbling or rope-dancing, lead about bears, donkeys and monkeys. They are governed by tribal councils and often undertake ordeals to prove their innocence. A common form of ordeal is that the accused stands in a pond with a pole in his hand. At a given signal he ducks his head; while another man, honest and true, starts running at a fair pace for a spot 70 paces distant. If the accused can keep under water while the 140 paces to and fro are covered he is acquitted. If not, he has to submit to such penalty as the council may impose.

The women folk of the Nats and Bazigars—jugglers and acrobats—belong to a tribe of vagrant habits; they are generally seen begging in groups of three or four. Muslim Nats are said to prostitute their unmarried women and, when a Nat woman marries, the first female child is either given to the grand-mother or is redeemed by payment of thirty rupees. These tribes are governed by a Raja and Rani, or King and Queen, like the gypsy tribes of Europe. Like them Kanjars prostitute their daughters and do so in the garb of beggars. They form groups and are worshippers of Gujb Pir. Delhi is their headquarters.

The Hesis are a tribe of beggar-cum-wandering-minstrels of the higher Himalayan villages. The men play the pipes and kettle-drum, while the women dance and sing, and play the tambourine. They are the only class in Lahul and Spiti that owns no land. Though they are generally beggars, they sometimes engage in petty trades. Their headquarters are in Kangra, Mandi, and Suket and they are governed by the orders of their heads who change, usually after three months.

The Gandhilas wander about bare-footed and bare-headed, beg, work in grass and straw, eat tortoises and vermin. They think that they own a kingdom beyond the Indus and are under a vow not to wear shoes or turbans till their possessions are restored to them. The head of the tribe thus keeps them loyal to him and is worshipped and given offerings which he hands over to a council of twenty for use in time of war to regain the lost kingdom. He lives like a 'king of beggars' and leads a luxurious life.

The Bhats, bards and genealogists, are usually seen roaming and begging in big cities. A Bhat is a hereditary servant, each local clan having its own Bhat who pays them periodical visits, writes its genealogy up-to-date and receives his fees. At great weddings he attends and recites the history and praises of ancestors and the genealogy of the bridegroom. Those Bhats who come from in and about Bikaner are generally dressed in silk. Different groups have different heads. Whereas men remain idle, looking after the things of the party, women organise singing parties, beg and sometimes serve as prostitutes too.

Then there are the Jogis, a thoroughly vagabond sect. They wander about the country beating a drum and begging, practising surgery and medicine in a small way; they write charms, tell fortune, and practise exorcism and divination; sometimes they settle down in the villages, eking out a living from their earnings from these occupations, and the offerings made at the local shrines of the Saiyads and other Mussalman saints. Their Mussalman section is called Rawals (the notorious cheats) in the central Punjab. They travel about the Central Provinces and the Deccan, and even visit Bombay and Calcutta where they pilfer and rob. As they are often away on these expeditions the baniya of the village supports their families on credit, to be repaid with interest on the return of the men.

The Bahurupia, an actor or one who assumes many forms or characters, is a clever beggar. There are Bahurupia families in Panipat who hold a revenue free village and call themselves Sukhs. In Sialkot and Gujrat they are called Mahatmas and are organised under spiritual heads. Some of them have acquired the trick of doubling back their tongue so as to make it appear that they are born dumb.

From the west of India comes a strange sect of praying beggars known as Aradhis, a mixed class recruited from Brahmins to Mahars, and curiously even from Muslims. Childless men whose hope of salvation is jeopardized, vow that if a male child is vouchsafed it shall be dedicated as an Aradhi. Aradhins or, praying girls, are famous for their charm and beauty. Many of the men mortify their flesh by being made eunuchs. They go about in bands of four or five with drums and one-stringed fiddle known as tuntune.

Such are some of the organisations of beggars existing in north India to-day. Constructive social forces need to be mobilized to rehabilitate them. The organisations should be attacked on all fronts. It is no use tackling individual beggars. Religious feeling, no doubt, stands in the way of dealing with such organised bodies; that only means that the religious minded need an enlightened interpretation of religion. Where law can intervene, it should be used with firmness. Where reform can help the organisations should be isolated and diverted to useful channels. It should not be difficult to turn the colonies into centres of useful small-scale industries and the colonists into helpful producers of national wealth. To treat the groups in the milieu on sound psychological basis with concerted efforts, and to hold back disorganised charity from flowing towards these organised beggar-monopolists by proper pressure on misguided philanthropists are an important part of the main responsibility of the authorities. But first we need to understand the forces that give coherence to these unsocial masses of our population.

## LEGISLATION RELATING TO BEGGARY

JOHN BARNABAS

In this article the author discusses the need of legislation for the elimination of beggary and shows how this need was met in some of the countries of the West. Further, he points out not only the existing legal provisions in India which could be used for the control of vagrancy but also the merits and demerits of the various Bills and recent Acts enacted for the prevention of beggary. In the light of our experience and that of the West, he makes valuable suggestions for the framing of an ideal Vagrancy Act.

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**P**ERHAPS India is the only country in the world where fourteen lakhs of its population wander about the streets with perfect freedom, living on the spontaneous, unorganized charity of individual citizens. Again, it is India where alone the Census Report can consider fit to list 'beggary' and 'vagrancy' among the occupations or means of livelihood, though unproductive. Still again, in this age of science, it is India which unlike other progressive countries, gives beggary a professional status. Though beggars may be found in other parts of the civilized world, it is here that the 'public without the least feeling of disgrace tolerates persistent, open and methodical begging in public places without let or hindrance. While in the West the beggar begs on the sly—and that too under the cover of some petty trade—and the citizen gives alms with a feeling of remorse, in India the beggar begs importunately with the attitude of one demanding his daily wages or with the contentment of one proudly carrying on his parental profession; the citizen, in his turn, doles out his charity with religious unction and the self-satisfaction of doing a good deed. Indeed, public begging is so common in our country largely because, on the one hand, it carries with it no invidious implications while, on the other, it claims to have the support of religion.

As a result, the beggar in India has taken undue advantage of his social liberty, or has been forced to do so by circumstances over which he has no control. Similarly, the public has misjudged its social obligation, its religious duty and its economic responsibility. It has yet to realize that the maintenance of vagrants at public expense is contrary to sound economic law, detrimental to the common good and unscientific as philanthropy. The beggar's existence on the street, as was pointed out in the last issue of *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, is a great menace to public health. And, what is more, it is disastrous to the normal growth and development of the personality of the beggar himself.

*Does Religion Sanction Beggary?*—What then shall we do with him? How shall we tackle this problem? The fact that beggary and charity are closely associated in the popular mind with religion makes it all the more difficult to put through measures of control. The common belief is that beggary has the sanction of religion and that individual almsgiving is essential for salvation. Hence, any attempt to prevent beggary naturally meets with opposition. If one were to read the reports of discussions on the beggar problem in Corporations and other bodies during the 20's of this century, he would find ample evidence of vehement opposition on religious grounds to measures proposed for the prevention of public begging. The poor are always with us, they say, and the beggar is there as a perpetual reminder to the more fortunate of the miseries of mankind—a reminder which may have a sobering effect on the natural tendency of the average man to be worldly. Then again, the beggar is there, we are told, by divine sanction to give an opportunity to the privileged to be charitable and store up merit for their own salvation. He undergoes physical damnation for the spiritual benefit of others! If the beggar thus fills a moral necessity in society, why should, they ask, the State try to eliminate beggary and thus deprive others of the opportunity of attaining *Nirvana* through giving of alms?

Is this view tenable? Does religion really sanction beggary? As far back as 1919, the Bombay Government appointed an influential and representative Committee to consider and formulate proposals for the prevention of professional beggary in the Bombay Presidency. Regarding the status of 'religious' beggars, the Committee consulted fourteen heads of religious denominations of Hinduism and Jainism, and twenty-three gentlemen of Muslim faith. In addition to these, they consulted six leading citizens in each of the districts of the Bombay Province, recommended by the District Magistrates. The gist<sup>1</sup> of this interesting and valuable finding is given below:—

1. "There is no such thing as professional beggary among the followers of (1) Zoroastrianism, (2) Jainism in its two schools of Mūrtipūjaks and non-Mūrtipūjaks, and (3) Vaishṇavite school of Vallabhāchārya and Swāmy Nārāyan. Similarly, among high class Sanyāsins of the Shankarāchārya Smārta School the nuisance is comparatively insignificant.

2. "A large majority of professional religious mendicants who infest public streets come out of certain sects or denominations like Bawas, Bairagis, Jangams and Nagdas having no religious or secular education.

3. "There is a consensus of opinion among religious heads of recognised denominations of Hinduism that although begging is permissible among those

<sup>1</sup> As summarised by Mr. and Mrs. Kodanda Rao and published in a Pamphlet brought out by the Society for the Elimination of Beggary in Nagpur.

who renounce the world, the present mode of going-a-begging in public streets and thoroughfares is unjustifiable.

The Committee found some difference of opinion regarding Islamic sanction for beggary, but even those who thought that the 'asking and making of charity' was sanctioned by Islam, agreed "that the pest of beggars on public streets ought to be stopped."

The final conclusion of the Committee was as follows :—"The opinions collected by us leave no room for doubt that whatever may be the interpretation of the texts of Hindu or Mohammadan sacred literature on the questions of begging, there is a consensus of opinion that begging in public streets and places as a *profession* is contrary to modern notions of religious sanctity."

Similarly, a special committee, appointed by the Mysore Government to examine the problem of beggary in Mysore State and to suggest measures to eliminate it, recently issued its Report. One of its most interesting sections<sup>2</sup> deals with the question—Is Beggary in India Enjoined by Religion? The conclusion reached by the committee is that in Hindu Law only an ascetic is allowed to beg. And even he who embraces asceticism must first make provision for the maintenance of his wife and sons. As for Islam, the direct descendants of the Prophet stated: "Curse be on him who, though capable of bearing his burden, throws it on another." Islam also ordains for the fakir—the Muslim religious mendicant—that his "first duty is to earn his livelihood by hard work". Likewise, Zoroastrianism does not enjoin begging: "Man is born to work and prosper, not to rest and rust . . . . Work is the law of life, for the poor and the rich alike."

The authentic findings of the above two committees make it clear that no religion approves of the sort of begging which encourages idleness, nor of indiscriminate charity to idlers and loafers. The liberty given to a beggar with infectious disease to use public paths, roads and conveyances, and infect the healthy public amounts to irrational liberty. And yet lakhs of beggars in India are allowed this irreligious, dangerous and parasitic liberty. On this question of liberty John Stuart Mill, no unreasoning advocate of interference with personal freedom, remarked: "Whenever there is a definite damage, or a definite risk of damage, either to an individual or to the public the case is taken out of the province of liberty and placed in that of morality and law." (*Liberty*, Chapter 5). The tradition of public charity can no longer be allowed to protect the beggar, for that tradition is misplaced philanthropy. We need therefore to resort to more scientific methods of protection, care and rehabilitation of the vagrant.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Committee for the Prevention of Beggary in Mysore, 1943, Chapter VI.

*Why People Give Alms.*—Before taking up for consideration the legal measures dealing with beggary, we shall examine the contention of some who say that beggary would be stopped if nobody gave alms. So far back as 1764, Dr. Burns in his "History of the Poor Law" asserted that "there is one infallible way to put an end to all this, and the easiest in the world, which consists merely in non-feasance. Give them nothing. If none were to give, none would beg, and the whole mystery and craft would be at an end in a fortnight." Admirable as the suggestion is, it is equally impracticable. People in every country and at all times have acted just the other way. The urge to give alms, even when the giver and the receiver are both accursed, is too strong to be curbed voluntarily. In an interesting study of the "Psychology of Almsgiving" Dr. Clifford Manshardt suggests that there are six main reasons why people give alms :—

1. *Religious Reasons.*—Every religion enjoins giving of alms upon its followers. Followers of most religions believe in laying up of treasures in Heaven by almsgiving.

2. *Sanction of Custom.*—In ancient India Brahmins were supported by other members of society. Begging in India is associated with the 'superior' class, and therefore no stigma is attached. Almsgiving and virtue of pity have been the celebrated theses of the Hindu religious tradition. The 'Fakirs' claim begging to be their 'ancestral profession'.

3. *Personal Reasons.*—(a) To experience the glow of happiness which is associated with the doing of a good deed. It satisfies one's ego. We like to receive the thanks and blessings of the recipient. (b) The hope of acquiring personal gain. A man losing money in the share bazaar or racing gives alms as a prayer to get back the money. When the child is ill the mother promises alms to the poor before the family deity in return for the health of the child. Relatives give alms to the poor when a person is dead to lighten the gravity of his sins. (c) The blessings of the beggar appeal to certain fundamental human wishes :—The wish for self-preservation is appealed to when the beggar says "may you live long;" the wish for security when he says "may you enjoy prosperity", or the wish for progeny when he says "may you have many children."

4. There are many who give alms *due to fear*—afraid of the curses of the beggar given in the name of God when a beggar is refused alms.

5. *Out of Instantaneous Pity.*—The emaciated baby, the mutilated body, the blind, the lame, the leprous, all evoke pity.

6. *The Careless Giver.*—To the rich change in the pocket is a burden to be gotten rid of.

Thus one can see that the general motive in almsgiving is to derive personal benefit. The urge is a selfish one and no act having such multiple

urges can be withheld without external compulsion. The legal way is the only way out. And the experience of other countries shows clearly that the problem cannot be solved unless the beggar is compelled by legislation to quit the streets, and enter institutions provided for him. We shall here take the example of a few countries and examine their methods of tackling the problem.

*Vagrancy Control in England.*—"In Tudor times attempts were made by law to check almsgiving in so far as it encouraged idleness and vagrancy;<sup>3</sup> and as late as 1744 (17 George II) a law was passed exposing to a penalty of not less than 10s. or more than 40s. (or, in default, one month's detention in a house of correction), any person who knowingly gave to a rogue or vagabond lodging or a shelter and refrained from handing him over to a constable."<sup>4</sup>

The problem of beggary is intimately linked up with the problem of employment and poor relief. Industrial England has guarded against the possibilities of dire poverty, starvation and beggary by a system of Poor Laws, Unemployment Acts and Social Insurance Schemes. "The first *public* social service to be established in England and Wales was the Poor Law. The great economic changes of the 15th and 16th centuries, above all the enclosure of arable land for sheep pastures and the expansion of urban industry and commerce, gave rise to problems with which medieval institutions were incapable of dealing. Feudal society was breaking up, and the landless men who began to rove the countryside and people the towns could not be provided for their adversity by voluntary almsgiving or through the mutual assistance funds of decaying guilds. Some statutory provision was needed and, after a period of local experiment characteristic of English social history, a national system of poor relief was brought into being towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth. The great Act which consolidated the Elizabethan Poor Law was passed in 1601 and, although the administrative details have been profoundly modified during the last 340 years, it remains—in principle—the basis of our system of providing for those who have no other means of support."<sup>5</sup>

In the year 1937 out of a total of about five hundred million pounds spent by Britain on what are known as Public Social Services, more than three hundred million pounds were spent on poor relief, housing, widows, orphans and old age pensions, health insurance, unemployment insurance and allowances. It is the expenditure on these items that helps them to solve their beggar problem. It takes a network of public social services to tackle poverty in all its ugly aspects.

*In Europe.*—It is noteworthy that, irrespective of the form of Govern-

<sup>3</sup> Statute of 27 Henry VIII, c. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Dawson, William H., *The Vagrancy Problem*, p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Owen, A. D., *British Social Services*, p. 6.

ment a country may have, the treatment of the vagrant has been carried out most systematically on the Continent. In the Swiss Republic this question is regulated by Cantonal Laws. The Federal Legislation on the subject, dating from 1850, merely orders that vagrants and mendicants shall be dealt with in the Cantons in which they may be arrested in accordance with the laws of those Cantons, yet adding that, if of foreign nationality, they shall be expelled from the country. The law in force in the Canton of Berne, for example, states that :—

“Vagrancy, namely, the wandering from place to place of persons without means and without the object of obtaining honest employment, is punishable with imprisonment and hard labour not exceeding sixty days, or with committal to a labour institution for a term between six months and two years; on the repetition of the offence the vagrant is always to be committed to a labour institution.”

Persons who apply for help from a Relief Station and refuse to accept suitable work when offered to them may be treated as ‘shirkers’ and as such they are liable to detention in a labour institution for any period between several months and several years. The police are empowered to arrest beggars without special warrant, and the husbands and fathers who evade their domestic responsibilities, and even the town loafer, who hangs about the street corners, may be apprehended and committed to a Forced Labour House by a very summary process.

Germany, so dissimilar in its form of Government from Switzerland, has dealt with beggary on similar lines. Down to the 16th century Germany was satisfied with the mere prohibition of mendicant practices. A resolution of the Diet at Landau in 1497 simply forbade vagabondage, and ordered the authorities to exercise supervision over the beggars of all kinds. In 1532 Emperor Charles V in Article 30 of his Penal Court Ordinance similarly enjoined the authorities to “exercise vigilant oversight over beggars and vagrants”, and in 1557 the Imperial Police Ordinance sanctioned the issue of begging letters to poor people for whose support local funds did not exist. In spite of these prohibitive orders beggary was a terrible nuisance as late as the end of the 18th century. Then it was that the idea of the disciplinary treatment of the vagrant took root and special institutions came into existence known as Labour Houses. When the Empire was established, the practice of the various states was embodied in the Imperial Penal Code, and Labour House treatment is now the recognised mode of correcting sloth, loafing and habitual intemperance and immorality throughout Germany.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> We are not able to secure information regarding conditions of vagrancy during the Hitler regime. But we have reason to believe that no appreciable change is effected in this sphere by Hitler, at least no change for the worse.



Sections 361 and 362 of the Penal Code define as follows the offences which may entail detention in a Labour House:—

- (1) Whoever wanders about as a vagabond.
- (2) Whoever begs or causes children to beg or neglects to restrain from begging such persons as are under his control and oversight and belong to his household.
- (3) Whoever is so addicted to gambling, drunkenness, or idleness that he falls into such a condition as to be compelled to seek public help himself, or for those for whose maintenance he is responsible.
- (4) Any female who is placed under police control owing to professional immorality when she acts contrary to the police regulations issued in the interest of health, public order, and public decency, or who without being under such control, is guilty of professional immorality.
- (5) Any person who, while in receipt of public relief, refuses out of sloth to do such work suited to his strength as the authorities may offer him.
- (6) Any person who, after losing his past lodging, fails to procure another within the time allotted to him by the competent authority and who cannot prove that in spite of his best endeavours he has been unable to do so.

It should be noted that begging according to this law is a cognizable offence; that not only the beggar but one who encourages begging is liable to punishment; that all begging and not only importunate begging is punishable by law. (We shall later point out the similarity between the wide definition of the term 'vagrant' given in this law and that of the Cochin Vagrancy Bill.)

*Belgium's Beggars' Depots and Houses of Refuge.*—Only after experimenting in many directions did the legislation of Belgium for the treatment of vagrants and mendicants establish forced Labour Houses and Colonies for the detention of these offenders. Between 1793 and 1891 the Vagrancy Laws went through a process of progressive severity. But on the 27th of November, 1891, the existing law was so amended as to take away from these offences their penal character. At the present time the beggar, the tramp, and the loafer are dealt with under this law. The great difference between the original Belgian Labour Houses and the Beggars' Depots of today lies in the fact that the earlier institutions were managed by philanthropic agencies, while those existing today are State establishments, and form a part of the judicial system of the country.

The Belgian law makes it obligatory upon the State to establish three different types of correctional institutions for the vagrants and mendicants, *viz.*, Beggars' Depots, Houses of Refuge and Reformatory Schools. The

Beggars' Depots are for able bodied vagrants and professional beggars, and for those who due to idleness, drunkenness or immorality live in a state of vagrancy. They can be sentenced to detention in these Depots for a period ranging between two years and seven years. The Houses of Refuge and Reformatory Schools are for simple detention. In order to give the loafer a chance of voluntary reformation, he is on the first conviction sent to a House of Refuge by way of probation for a period not exceeding one year or until he has earned 12s. If reconvicted he is sent to the Beggars' Depot. In general the House of Refuge is intended for vagrants, mendicants, loafers and dissolute persons who deserve lighter punishment than that given to incorrigible offenders.

Article 2, para 3 of the said Act lays down that—

“The Reformatory Schools shall be devoted to persons who are under eighteen years of age and who have been placed by the judicial authority at the disposal of the Government or whose admission has been applied for by the authority of the commune.”

The Act provides that the Minister of Justice may order the immediate discharge of any person confined in the Beggars' Depots whose further confinement may appear to him unnecessary. Provision is made not only for the separate lodging of those below 21 in the Depots but also for the externment of adult and able-bodied beggars not belonging to Belgium.

These few instances of the nature and progress of law relating to vagrancy in Europe go to show that their problem is essentially the same everywhere. They prove beyond doubt that short of penal measures the beggar problem is impossible of solution. They make clear the futility of private efforts to get rid of the beggar. The experience of the West also indicates the desirability of organising charity for the good of the community, aided or regulated by State legislation.

*Laws in India Applicable to Vagrancy.*—Organised public opinion in India has expressed itself in favour of State action against begging since the beginning of the century. The Bombay Corporation has shown interest in the problem since 1915. The Calcutta Corporation has been vocal on the subject since about 1918. Apart from the Corporations, public bodies like the Women's Associations, Social Service Leagues and various other agencies have been advocating State action.

In India, though there is no full fledged Vagrancy Act as yet, it cannot be said that there is no legal provision for preventing public begging. Before we discuss the recent Bills and Acts, we shall consider the available local acts and regulations which, we are told, could be used for checking public begging. To begin with, there is the Criminal Procedure Code which applies to the

whole of British India and it is maintained that Section 109 could be used to arrest a beggar. According to this Section, if a Magistrate is satisfied—

(a) “that any person is taking precautions to conceal his presence within the local limits of each Magistrate’s jurisdiction, and that there is reason to believe that such person is taking such precautions with a view to committing any offence, or

(b) “that there is within such limits a person who has no ostensible means of subsistence, or who cannot give a satisfactory account of himself,” that person may be arrested.

Though a vagrant might have been arrested now and again under this section, it has been applied till now only for rounding up ‘bad characters’. It does not really cover the beggar. B. B. Mitra in his edition of the *Code of Criminal Procedure*, quoting a judgment<sup>1</sup>, shows that “merely to be out of work or penniless is not an offence. Many an honest man may find himself in either predicament, and in a country where there are workless people and no workhouses, persons ought not to be exposed to proceedings under Section 109 (b) merely because they cannot give a satisfactory account of the manner in which they are eking out a precarious existence.” Further, till begging is legally forbidden begging itself could be stated to be his ‘ostensible means of living’. Hence the Section cannot be of much use in prosecuting a beggar.

*The European Vagrancy Act.*—Then there is the European Vagrancy Act, 1874, which applies to the whole of India but takes care only of the European vagrant. According to Section 3 of this Act,

“‘Vagrant’ means a person of European extraction found asking for alms or wandering about without any employment or visible means of subsistence”;

whereas Section 23 lays down that

“Any person of European extraction found asking for alms when he has sufficient means of subsistence, or asking for alms in a threatening or insolvent manner, or continuing to ask for alms of any person after he has been required to desist, shall be punishable whether he be or be not a European British subject, on conviction before a Magistrate, with rigorous imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month for the first offence, two months for the second and three months for any subsequent offence.”

A ‘vagrant’, according to the Act, may be sent to a workhouse or removed from British India at Government expense, whereas a beggar, as defined by Section 23, can be given rigorous imprisonment from one to three months. Just ‘asking for alms’ is vagrancy, and asking for alms in a particular manner

<sup>1</sup> Victor v. K. E. 53 Cal. 345, 30 C. W. N. 380, 27 Cr. L. J. 497.

and in certain circumstances amounts to begging. It is strange that this Act does not make any mention of the juvenile vagrant. In the absence of a specific provision for dealing with him, it may be presumed that he will be treated in the same manner as the adult. Further, this Act neither recognises the possibility of a European vagrant being disabled or suffering from any infectious disease nor provides specifically for women vagrants. When a European vagrant is arrested every effort is required to be made by Magistrates and the Police to find a suitable employment for him. In the meanwhile he is placed in a Government workhouse. If within a reasonable period of time no job is found for him, he is removed from India at Government expense.

*The Lepers Act.*—We may now turn our attention to the Lepers Act. The number of leper beggars in India is very large. If only the Lepers Act of 1898 had been applied effectively the problem would have been well on the way to solution by now. It is an Act of the Central Government, with liberty to the Provincial Governments to bring it into force if and when they desired. Unfortunately, no Provincial Government has taken full advantage of the Act for controlling lepers in its area. The Act takes special notice of the 'pauper leper' whom it defines as "a leper who publicly solicits alms or exposes or exhibits any sores or wounds or bodily ailment or deformity with the object of exciting charity or of obtaining alms, or who is at large without any ostensible means of subsistence." Such a person can be arrested by any police officer without a warrant; after the Inspector of Lepers certifies him to be a leper, he is to be produced before a Magistrate who can send him to a leper asylum to be detained until discharged by order of the Board or the District Magistrate.

Section 9 of the Act merits quotation, for we consider it a very important preventive measure against the spread of the disease. It reads thus:—

- "The Local Government may, by notification, in the Official Gazette, order that no leper shall, within any area specified under section 3,
- (a) personally prepare for sale or sell any article of food or drink or any drugs or clothing intended for human use; or
  - (b) bathe, wash clothes or take water from any public well or tank debarred by any municipal or local bye-law from use by lepers; or
  - (c) drive, conduct or ride in any public carriage plying for hire other than a railway carriage; or
  - (d) exercise any trade or calling which may by such notifications be prohibited to lepers."

Penalty for disobeying this Section of the Act is fine upto Rs. 20/-. Any one who knowingly employs a leper in any of the trades mentioned in Section 9, shall be punishable with fine which may extend to Rs. 50/-. Thus this Act makes provision not only for punishing the leper who spreads the dis-

case but also those who permit a leper to do so.

*The C. P. Municipalities Act.*—In addition to the above, there are some Sections of the Municipalities Act in each Province which deal with the beggar. It has been suggested that action could be taken under these Sections. In certain cities the Police Acts provide sections which are similar to the relevant sections in the Municipalities Act. Section 206 of the C. P. Municipalities Act, 1922, runs as follows:—

“Whoever, in any street or public place within the limits of a Municipality, begs importunately for alms or exposes or exhibits, with the object of exciting charity, any deformity or disease, or any offensive sore or wound, shall be punishable with fine which may extend to twenty rupees.”

This Section is the most unhelpful among similar provisions in other cities and provinces. When a beggar is found to be begging importunately, a police officer will have to get a warrant of arrest, and then, when produced before the Court, the Magistrate can sentence him to a fine which may extend to twenty rupees. ‘Importunate’ begging is very hard to prove; by the time a warrant is brought to arrest the beggar, he will not be there to receive it; even if one succeeded in getting him before the Court, the punishment provided is neither deterrent nor corrective. The C. P. Government is therefore considering a Bill to amend this Section. The Bill contains proposals for making begging a cognisable offence. But it has retained the word ‘importunate’ in its first draft and representations are being made by the Society for the Elimination of Beggary in Nagpur to delete the word. Fine or/and imprisonment of either description or detention in a Poor House is prescribed. There is no provision, however to punish those who encourage begging or those who employ children to beg. The power of prosecution is vested in the police and there is a suggestion that the Magistrates (as on the lines of Section 190 C. P. C.) as well as Municipal employees of certain rank (as in the U. P. Amendment Act) be empowered to take cognizance of the offence.

*The Punjab Municipal Act.*—Among the provisions to control beggary, the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911, Section 151, as it stands at present is reasonably satisfactory. The relevant portions are given below:—

“151. (1) Whoever, in any street or public place within the Municipality, begs (importunately) for alms, or exposes or exhibits, with the object of exciting charity, any deformity or disease, or any offensive sore or wound, shall be punishable with imprisonment of either description, which may extend to three months, or with fine not exceeding fifty rupees, or with both, provided that—

(a) In the case of a first offence, the court may, if it thinks fit,

instead of sentencing the convict to any punishment, release him after due admonition;

- (b) in any case, the court may, if it is satisfied of the inability of the convict to earn a livelihood, owing to physical infirmity or debility, and if the person in charge of any Poor House in the Municipality certifies that he is willing to receive him, direct that the convict be received into such Poor House, after being released on entering into a bond, with or without sureties, to appear and receive sentence, when called upon during such period not exceeding three years, as the court may direct.

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, an offence punishable under this section shall be cognizable; and notwithstanding anything contained in this Act, a court may take cognizance of such an offence in the manner provided by Section 190, C. P. C. 1898."

Much of the effect of this Section is lost by the qualifying word 'importantly'. Apart from the fact that it provides for imprisonment which may extend to three months and/or a fine not exceeding fifty rupees, it provides for admonition and release for the first offence. As per Section 151, (1) (b) the court does not sentence him to detention in a Poor House. But in case a Poor House is willing to take him in, the court permits his entry there after having signed a bond for good behaviour for a period not exceeding three years. This method of tackling the beggar is not to be found in any of the other relevant Sections. Though this provision could be used to check begging in the Punjab no attempt is, however, being made in that direction.

*The Bombay City Police Act.*—Turning now to other provinces, we find that Section 121 of the Bombay City Police Act, Section 64 of the Bangalore Police Law and the Bangalore Municipal Bye-law N. 21, Section 13-A, are very similar. They both penalise not only importunate begging but all begging; they penalise not merely those who beg but also those who direct begging or employ children under their control to beg; they provide for imprisonment which may extend to one month as an alternative to, or in addition to, a fine not exceeding fifty rupees. It can be clearly seen that these Municipal provisions and the Police Acts are such that they could be made use of to prevent begging if amended in certain respects. It is equally true that unless we pass a complete Vagrancy Act the problem will not be solved. But to make a beginning, some Provinces have amended their legal provisions and in others amendments are under consideration.

*The Madras City Police Act, 1888.*—This Act was amended by the Madras Government (by the Governor while acting under Section 93 of the Government

of India Act, 1935) on the 13th May, 1941. Any Police Officer may arrest a beggar found begging, without a warrant, and the court may sentence the beggar to imprisonment which may extend to one month or/and fine him not exceeding fifty rupees, or in case there is a Workhouse he may be sentenced to detention there for a period not exceeding three years. If the accused is below 16 years of age, he shall be tried by the Juvenile Court. The Act provides for Workhouses for the detention of the able-bodied and 'special homes' for the detention of those who are 'not physically capable of manual labour'.

The existence of the Madras Children Act, 1920, is fully recognized by the framers of this amendment to the Police Act. The ordinary courts are not allowed to try juveniles below 16 years. The Juvenile Court will try the juveniles and further, since a difference is made between children who are below 14 and those who are between 14 and 16, the punishment it gives to the latter group is practically the same as that given to the adult beggar, that is, they may be sentenced to Workhouse and special homes. But,

71-K (2). "If the Juvenile Court finds on enquiry that any person brought before it under sub-section (1) has not attained the age of 14 years and is guilty of an offence under Section 71-A and that he :— (a) has no home or settled place of abode or visible means of subsistence, or has no parent or guardian, or has a parent or guardian who does not exercise proper guardianship, or (b) is destitute and both his parents or his surviving parent or in the case of an illegitimate child, his mother, are or is undergoing transportation or imprisonment, or (c) is under the care of a parent or guardian who by reason of criminal or drunken habits is unfit to have such care, the Court may pass such order in respect of the offender as it could have passed if he had been brought before it under sub-section (1) or Section 29 of the Madras Children Act, 1920."

The main defect of the Act seems to lie in the fact that Section 71-C makes it clear that the operative sections of this amendment will come into force only after Workhouses and special homes have come into existence. It is probably because of this that, though Madras happens to be the first in India to take steps to provide adequate legal powers to check beggary, it is not the first to start the experiment.

*The U. P. Municipalities Act.*—In the United Provinces it was found that Section 248 of the Municipalities Act, 1916, if amended, would enable the immediate tackling of street begging in U. P. Public enthusiasm on this matter was aroused by the efforts of the Social Service League. Realising that social legislation in this country can be enacted only by organising public opinion, the Social Service League, after starting a Poor House and finding that beggars will

not voluntarily seek admission, sought the aid of legislation. In the absence of a responsible legislature, it was found that it was easier to get the existing legislation amended than to get a full fledged Vagrancy Act, however desirable it may be, passed by a legislative body. Thus the movement for amending the Act began. Section 248 of the U. P. Municipalities Act made importunate begging punishable with fine which may extend to twenty rupees. The U. P. Municipalities (Amendment) Act, 1942, was Gazetted on the 11th April 1942.

According to this Amendment all begging, and not only importunate begging, is made a cognizable offence. The court may sentence the accused to imprisonment which may extend to one month or to a fine not exceeding fifty rupees or both; or in places where the Municipality has recognised a Poor House, the court may sentence him to detention to a maximum period of two years. The Rules clearly recognise the existence of various types of beggars each of which requires specialised treatment. Rule 4 provides that :—

“A Poor House shall have one or more of the following main sections :—  
(a) Infirmary for the decrepit, disabled and diseased, suffering from non-infectious and non-contagious diseases. (b) Section for beggars suffering from infectious and contagious diseases. (c) Juvenile Section. (d) Workhouse or Agricultural Colony for the able-bodied. In each section separate arrangement shall be made for each sex. More sections may be opened as necessary.”

Though this Act does not specifically mention ‘admonition’ for the first offence, it is observed that in practice the Magistrate does release persons after admonition if they are first offenders, and whenever he considers such action to be more effective than detention in a Poor House.

An important feature of this Act is the acceptance of the principle of Indeterminate Sentence. A Revision Board, consisting of the District Magistrate, Municipal Chairman and a representative of the Poor House, is empowered to revise the sentence of the trying Magistrate. After his admission to the Poor House, if it is satisfied that “a beggar has developed the will to work or has found means of livelihood other than begging—and in general there are circumstances justifying a revision of his sentence—it shall reduce the sentence or direct his release.” It will be noticed that a similar provision is made in the Belgian Law of 1891, where the Minister of Justice is empowered to revise the sentence. In Germany the maximum period of detention permitted in a Labour House is two years, but it depends entirely on the vagrant himself to effect an earlier release by reforming his ways. The President or Prefect of District has the right to increase or reduce the sentence, but in practice the Director of the Labour House is the person who does it, for he can either recommend the reduction or enhancement of the sentence. But at the



end of two years the accused must be released whether reformed or not.

The U. P. Municipalities Amendment Act is being enforced at present in Lucknow. No beggar has till now been sentenced to either imprisonment or fine but about 40 of them have been sentenced to detention in the Lucknow Poor House, run by the Social Service League and recognised by the Lucknow Municipality, for periods varying between six months and a year.

Even cities which have no Poor Houses can enforce the Act and the courts could fine the offenders or send them to prison. Our experience at Lucknow convinces us of the fact that they need not wait till a Poor House is set up, but that if they arrested beggars and sentenced some to prison and released others after admonition, a large number of those who do not need to beg for a living, will give up begging, and the rest will cease to be importunate. By the time a Poor House is founded, this preliminary effort could well pave the way for the initiation of a more complete programme of control.

*Sind Vagrancy Bill.*—On the 12th April, 1939, Mr. P. A. Bhopatkar introduced in the Sind Assembly "The Sind Vagrancy Bill," 'a bill to prohibit able-bodied vagrants from begging publicly on the streets'. The Bill defines a 'vagrant' as a 'person found wandering about and begging for alms', but it deals only with the able-bodied beggar. Any police officer may arrest an able-bodied beggar, and the court can order his imprisonment for a period not exceeding one month for the first offence, not exceeding two months for the second offence and not exceeding one year for subsequent offences. If the accused says that he is likely to obtain employment in a given place, the court may order the police to conduct him to such a place. If he fails to get employed within 24 hours, he shall be brought back to the court which may punish him as mentioned above.

This Bill, in our opinion, is very defective. The definition of 'vagrant' is inadequate. It makes no provision for Workhouses. Even if the Bill dealt with the able-bodied beggars only there is no reason why it should not provide for industrial and agricultural colonies for their retraining. Experience of the vagrant in Europe shows that imprisonment is no solution for the able-bodied beggar. He must be sent to specialised Workhouses where the beggar, without the disadvantage of being dubbed a 'criminal', can be cured of his constitutional laziness. The provision to allow him to seek for employment is very desirable. But, while the European vagrant gets fifteen days to seek work and also while the Act requires that the Presidency Magistrate or a First Class Magistrate shall assist the vagrant to the best of his ability in securing employment, the Sind Vagrancy Bill permits only 24 hours to find work and that too without the help of the Magistrate. In our opinion the Bill in its present form will serve no useful purpose.

*Calcutta Suburban Police Act.*—A comprehensive Vagrancy Bill is before the Bengal Assembly. It has been recently introduced in the Assembly as a Government Bill. But even before the Bill becomes Act, it is possible to arrest beggars under Clause 17 of Section 40 of the Calcutta Suburban Police Act, 1866. This Section empowers the police to arrest any beggar and sentence him to a fine not exceeding fifty rupees or imprison him in lieu of fine. The Provincial Government may declare any institution to serve as a Refuge Home for the reception of the aged, infirm or incurably diseased persons. In places where there is such a recognised Institution the court may sentence the beggar to detention for the period prescribed. Though no provision is made for any other special home or Workhouse for the different types of beggars, it is, as it stands, more satisfactory than the C. P. Municipalities Act, 1922, and the proposed Sind Vagrancy Bill.

*Bengal Urban Poor Relief Bill.*—In India Poor Law does not exist in a codified form as in the West. Therefore the Bengal Urban Poor Relief Bill, 1940, must be considered an important step towards social legislation in our country. It is a Bill "to provide for relief of the poor in the Urban areas of Bengal". Within six months of this Act coming into force every Municipality in Bengal will have to prepare (a) a list showing names of all disabled persons suffering from leprosy or any other contagious disease, who have to rely on public charity for subsistence and have no other source of income or none else to support them; and (b) a list of other disabled persons including old and infirm persons and children below 12 who have to rely on public charity for their subsistence. It is made obligatory upon every Municipality to segregate and maintain, if possible, all indigents in list (a). As for those in list (b) each Municipality is required to try and provide funds for their maintenance and, "until sufficient funds are provided for, shall take such steps as are necessary for guarding against starvation of such indigents including raising of voluntary contributions from members of the public, government or charitable institutions."

Most of the beggar problems in India would be solved if only such *Poor Relief Measures* were adopted. We would watch with keen interest Bengal's experiment in this important piece of legislation.

*Bengal Vagrancy Bill.*—Poor Relief does not, however, eliminate the need of a Vagrancy Act, and therefore Bengal has moved in the direction of a Bengal Vagrancy Bill, 1943. Any person found asking for alms, or remaining or wandering about in any public place making it clear that he exists on public charity can be arrested by any police officer and taken before a Special Magistrate. If the Magistrate is so convinced, the person in custody may be certified as a vagrant and sent by the court to a Receiving Centre when a Medical Officer will examine him thoroughly and submit his report to the

Officer-in-charge of the Centre who, under orders of the Vagrancy Controller, may send him over to a Vagrants Home. He will remain there till such time as the Controller may decide upon. The Vagrancy Controller in this Bill functions very much like the Revision Board in the U. P. Municipalities Amendment Act, 1942 and the Minister of Justice in Belgium.

It is wisely provided in the Bill that (a) lepers, (b) the insane or mentally deficient, (c) those suffering from communicable diseases other than leprosy, and (d) children, that is, persons under the age of fourteen, be segregated from each other and from vagrants who do not belong to any of the aforementioned classes. Moreover, it requires the segregation of the male from the female vagrants. It is also provided that such vagrants' homes may include provision for the teaching of agricultural, industrial or other pursuits, and for the general education and medical care of the inmates.

Much like the Continental Vagrancy Acts and the proposed Cochin Vagrancy Bill, this Bill also provides for the repatriation of non-Bengal beggars. It also punishes the person who "employs or causes any person to ask for alms, or abets the employment or the causing of a person to ask for alms, or whoever having the custody, charge or care of a child, connives at or encourages the employment or the causing of the child to ask for alms" with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine or with both. Its chief feature is that the court does not sentence the beggar to a fixed period of detention in a Vagrants' Home, but leaves it to the Controller to release him when he considers that the purpose of the Act so far as the particular individual is concerned is fulfilled. This provision is a great improvement over the usual provision where a beggar has to be released after the expiry of his term of detention, whether reformed or not. It is reported that the Bengal Government has arranged for the building of six vagrants' homes. A Vagrancy Controller and six Managers for the Homes have already been appointed.

It is encouraging to note that some Indian States are also taking an active interest in the beggar problem. Hyderabad has already passed the Prevention of Beggary Act, 1942. Similarly, Mr. M. K. Devassy introduced the Cochin Vagrancy Bill in the Cochin Legislature on the 10th February, 1940, but, unfortunately, it was not accepted. Baroda has now constituted a committee to investigate the beggar problem and make proposals for its control and prevention. Though Travancore has no legislation dealing with vagrancy, a Beggar Relief Centre has been started in Kottayam at the initiation of the municipality and the citizens of the town. The Government of Mysore appointed a committee to go thoroughly into the question of beggary in the whole State and to formulate a plan for effectively dealing with the problem. The

committee has just issued its Report and also the Draft Bill for the Prohibition of Beggary in Mysore.

*Hyderabad Prevention of Beggary Act.*—Unfortunately the Hyderabad Act has several defects. It seems to be so framed as to make it almost impossible to admit a person to a Poor House. Powers of establishment, recognition and supervision of institutions for beggars are vested in a chief committee, which may be either the Standing Committee of the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation for the City of Hyderabad, or a Sub-Committee of five nominated by the Municipal Committee or the Local Board concerned.

Further, Sec. 7 (1) says that, “The Chief Committee may establish institutions in suitable places . . . or close down any institution established by the public.” We cannot appreciate this idea of empowering the Committee to close down any public institution started for the benefit of beggars or poor people. It is expected, however, that the extreme step of closing down an institution would be taken only when strong reasons justify the adoption of such a measure.

Institutions, started or recognised or aided by the Chief Committee, can secure inmates in two ways:—firstly, they may accept those who voluntarily seek admission. But every such person must execute an agreement with the institution to remain in it for not less than two years. Thereafter he shall be subject to the same rules as apply to those who are committed to the institution by the court. Secondly, they may admit those whom the courts have sentenced to detention. Experience both in India and abroad makes it clear that voluntary admissions to a Poor House are negligible. When such admission amounts to voluntarily giving up of one’s right to freedom, it is difficult to see how any institution may be expected to get volunteer inmates.

Admissions through the courts seem to us still more difficult. Sec. 16 provides that when a police officer sees a professional beggar begging, he should first ask him to refrain from begging and leave the place; and if this order is not complied with then the police officer is to arrest him *after holding a panchnama*. It is obvious that no beggar will ever contravene such a convenient order of a policeman. To ask a beggar not to beg at a given time and at a given place does not need a police officer. The beggar will obey any ordinary citizen. Granting that one finds such a rare type of a beggar who insists on begging when ordered by the police officer to go away from there, the law requires the police officer to hold a *panchnama* and then arrest the beggar. Our experience of arresting beggars in Lucknow makes it clear to us that it is almost impossible to find persons who will agree to form the *panch*; it will be still more difficult for the police man to get such a *panchnama* to witness against a beggar. In our round-ups of beggars in Lucknow, whenever a beggar

created a scene on his arrest, the public inevitably pleaded for his release.

Presuming for a moment that it is possible to find a police officer who will be so conscientious as to go through this difficult process of arresting the beggar, and granting that it is possible to find men willing to form the *panch*, it is difficult for the beggar to get across the court even if he is anxious to enter an institution. For the first offence the court may discharge a beggar if he promises not to beg again, and no beggar, as far as our knowledge goes, will refuse to give such an undertaking. If a beggar comes before the court for a second time "he shall not be discharged unless a respectable person stands surety for him that he will not be guilty of begging by profession, or unless the court is satisfied in some other way that he will refrain from it."

In case a beggar appears for the third time then the court may sentence him to detention in an institution, under the control or management of the Chief Committee, "for such period as is deemed sufficient to render him capable of earning a living for his necessities." The Act does not mention the maximum period to which the court may sentence him. We may get a fuller idea if we see the Rules governing this Act. But it is not advisable to let the Rules prescribe such an important matter which involves a principle.

Dealing with persons who abscond from the institutions, Section 13 says that if such an escaped person is found by a police officer he may arrest him after holding *panchnama*. It is superfluous and unreasonable to require the certificate of a *panch* for the arrest of a person who is definitely wanted by law. Whether he is found begging or not, he is to be arrested if he has escaped from legal custody.

The Act does not reveal any clear idea of the need of specialised treatment for the various types of beggars. Throughout the term "professional beggar" is used. In the Definitions Clause the term is so defined that no clear cut differentiation is made between a beggar and a professional beggar. The Act makes provision neither for the punishment of those who encourage beggary, nor for the repatriation of those who are non-State beggars. Further, it gives no special consideration to the child beggar. The purpose of the Act evidently is prevention and not treatment.

*Cochin Vagrancy Bill.*—Now turning to the Cochin Vagrancy Bill we find that one of its most interesting features is its definition of the vagrant. Section 3(ii) says:—

"Vagrant means (a) any person wandering abroad or placing himself in any public place to beg or gather alms or causing or encouraging or procuring any child to do so; (b) any person wandering abroad to hawk goods without a pedlar's license; (c) any person whose wilful neglect to work causes him or her or any of his or her family, to go

about begging; (d) any person running away causing his child or wife to live upon charity; (e) any person endeavouring to procure alms by exposing deformities or by making fraudulent pretences; (f) any person found in a building or inside an enclosed yard or garden, for any immoral, unlawful purpose; (g) any person gaming, in an open and public place, at some game of chance with cards, coins and other instruments; (h) any person telling fortunes or using any subtle craft, palmistry or otherwise, to deceive; (i) any person wandering abroad, without visible means of subsistence, and lodging in unoccupied buildings, or under a tree or tent or in a cart, and not giving a good account of himself; (j) any person knowingly living, wholly or in part, on the earnings of prostitution, or persistently soliciting in public for immoral purposes."

According to this definition a beggar, a person encouraging a child to beg, an unlicensed hawker, a deserter, a gambler, a palmist, a prostitute and a pimp—all are "vagrants" and can be taken action against under this Act. Sub-section (f) of this definition makes it possible for a respectable political worker to be termed a vagrant if at a given time a political party or association of which he is a member is declared illegal and he is found working for such a party in a building or in an enclosed yard or garden. It is difficult also to understand how an unlicensed hawker and a palmist can be considered as vagrants. Apart from this too wide a definition of a vagrant, the Bill in general is a very desirable one. All begging is made a cognizable offence. The Government is required to establish Receiving Centres and Institutions for the accommodation and treatment of vagrants. Due attention is paid to the different types of beggars. The general procedure of arrest and conviction is on the same lines as the Bengal Vagrancy Bill.

That professional organisations exist among beggars and that some so-called respectable citizens employ beggars to beg in public and take a part of their earnings in return for food and protection from the police have been pointed out elsewhere in this issue of the Journal. It looks as if Sec. 18 (1) of the Cochin Vagrancy Bill is meant to attack this system. It reads as follows:—

"Whenever it shall appear to the Commissioner of Police that any person is living on the earnings of vagrants within the local areas to which this is made applicable, he shall make a report to the Government with the recommendation that such person be deported out of Cochin."

The Government then may arrest him, and after a trial in camera may deport him from Cochin for a specified period of time. Such a provision is not found in any other Act either in India or in the West. An ideal Vagrancy

Act will do well to include this provision. Another of its interesting features is that a beggar who is not a *bonafide* resident of Cochin, may be repatriated from Cochin only after he had stayed for three months in a Receiving Centre and had failed to find employment within that period.

Those causing children to beg may be sentenced to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term which may extend to two years, or to a fine not exceeding 500 rupees, or both. But unfortunately the Bill proposes to leave the question of prescribing the maximum period of detention permitted in any institution to the Rules. So important a matter should be included in the Act itself, for it will then ensure the acceptance of a general principle in regard to detention.

*Mysore Draft Bill for the Prohibition of Beggary.*—This Bill contains several interesting features. It provides for the creation of a Central Relief Committee, the establishment of Receiving Centres and institutions to meet the needs of different types of beggars, classification of beggars, formation of colonies or social settlements on the village community model where agriculture and cottage industries will be taught, and the repatriation of non-Mysorian beggars at Government cost.

Religious mendicant is included in the definition of 'beggar' but a provision in the Bill excludes him from this category under certain conditions. With reference to this, Section 2 (d) states :—

A person shall not be deemed to be a beggar if he (i) is a religious mendicant licensed by the Central Relief Committee to solicit alms in the manner prescribed by rules under this Act; or (ii) in performance of any religious vow or obligation as sanctioned by custom or religion collects alms in a private or public place, without being a nuisance; or (iii) is permitted in writing by the Central Relief Committee to collect alms from the public for any public institution, whether religious or secular, or for the furtherance of any object for the good of the public.

Thus religious mendicants may be permitted to beg under a licence granted by the Central Relief Committee on the recommendation of the Head of the Religious Order to which they belong provided they beg without causing nuisance to the public. This is a novel provision not found in any other vagrancy legislation, and is meant for the purpose of regulating religious mendicancy with due regard to the sentiments of the people. In practice, it is hoped, it would do credit to the good intentions of the framers of the law.

The Bill does not provide for Workhouses but for colonies of the village community type. The colony will take in only the able-bodied, the aged, the juvenile, the lame, the cripple and the blind. The Scheme includes a separate Sick Ward for the treatment of the sick, a Correctional Ward for the unruly

and the "work-shy" and a Rescue Home for the profligate women. It is interesting to note that there is also a suggestion for a colony for the mentally defective and insane beggars to be attached to the Mysore Government Mental Hospital.

Special attention is given to the child beggar. The provisions of the Bill are as hereunder :—

(1) If a person arrested under the provisions of this Act is, in the opinion of the officer arresting him, below the age of twelve years, he shall without delay be removed to the Receiving Centre, whereupon the Officer-in-charge of the Receiving Centre shall, after preliminary enquiry, place him before the Magistrate and, if the Magistrate after summary enquiry finds that he—

- (a) has no home or settled place or abode or means of subsistence or, has no parent or guardian, or has a parent or guardian who does not exercise a proper wardship; or
- (b) is a destitute and both his parents or his surviving parent, or in the case of an illegitimate child, his mother, are or is undergoing imprisonment; or
- (c) is under the care of a parent or guardian who by reason of the criminal or drunken habits is unfit to exercise such care;

shall declare the person to be a beggar and send him to the Receiving Centre:

Provided that if such a person has a parent or a proper guardian, the Magistrate shall call upon that parent or guardian to execute a bond and stand surety for that person not committing an act contrary to the provisions of Section 3 and thereafter release him, but if that parent or guardian himself is a beggar, and no other relative comes forward to take care of the person, he shall be sent to the Receiving Centre with a declaration as provided therein.

(2) If in the course of the enquiry, the Magistrate is of opinion that the parent or guardian being competent to maintain the child, has wilfully neglected to do so, he may in his order committing such child to the Receiving Centre, direct that such amount as he may deem necessary for the maintenance of the child be recovered by way of fine from such person or guardian.

(3) The Officer-in-charge of the Receiving Centre shall thereupon send the child to such Institution best suited for him.

It is suggested that a normal child beggar should not be separated from its parent, that the beggar family should be lodged in one hut in the Colony and that the foster-parent system may be introduced in the Colony for Children without parents.

Another interesting feature is that the Bill provides for Indoor and Out-



## ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF LEGISLATION

Name of Law	Punishment	Offence: Cognizable or Non-Cognizable ?
1. The Madras City Police (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Amendment to Madras Act III of 1888).	Fine upto Rs. 50/- or imprisonment upto one month or Workhouse upto 3 years.	Cognizable.
2. The U. P. Act No. VIII of 1942. The U.P. Municipalities (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Amendment to Sec. 248 of the U.P. Mun. Act).	Fine upto Rs. 50/- or imprisonment upto one month or both or Poor House upto two years.	Cognizable.
3. The Prevention of Beggary Act, 1941—Hyderabad-Deccan.	Detention in an Institution for a period sufficient to render him capable of earning a living.	Legally it is cognizable, but in practice it is non-cognizable.
4. The European Vagrancy Act, 1874.	A "Vagrant" sent to Workhouse till employment is found or till he is removed from Br. India. A "Beggar"—R. I. for one month for 1st offence and 3 months for subsequent offences.	Cognizable.
5. The Lepers Act 1898.	In Leper Asylum until discharged by the Board or the District Magistrate.	Pauper leper may be arrested without warrant.
6. The Cochin Vagrancy Bill.	The Rules to prescribe period of detention (See Sec. 13 (1) (G) ).	Cognizable.
7. The Bengal Vagrancy Bill 1943.	To remain in Vagrant Home till Controller finds work for him, or relative or friend stands security.	Cognizable.
8. The Sind Vagrancy Bill 1938. (Private Bill by P. A. Bhopatkar).	Imprisonment upto 1 month for 1st offence, 3 months for 2nd offence, 1 year for subsequent offences.	Cognizable.
9. The Bombay City Police Act, Sec. 121.	Imprisonment upto one month or fine upto Rs. 50/- or both.	.....
10. The Bangalore Police Law, Sec. 64.	Imprisonment upto one month or fine upto Rs. 50/- or with both.	.....
11. The Punjab Mun. Act of 1911, Sec. 151.	Fine upto Rs. 50/- or imprisonment upto 3 months or both, or 1st offence admonition.	Cognizable.
12. The C.P. Municipalities Act, 1922, Sec. 206.	Fine upto Rs. 20/-.	Non-cognizable.
13. The Draft Bill for the Prohibition of Beggary in Mysore, 1943.	Detention in the Colony for re-training till the beggar is found capable of earning his own livelihood. Aim not penal but educative.	Cognizable.

# IN INDIA RELATING TO BEGGARY

Nature of Offence	Punishment to Abettor	Prosecuting Authority	Child Age Limit	Extermment
Begging or applying for alms.	None.	Police Officer.	Below 16 years.	None.
Begging importunately.	None.	(1) Police (2) Such Municipal employees as are authorised by the Mun. Bd. In Lucknow the Sanitary Inspectors.	Below 16 years.	None.
Begging anywhere.	.....	Any Officer, or police official can arrest after holding a <i>panchnama</i> .	.....	.....
Asking for alms when he has sufficient means of subsistence; or in a threatening manner, or importunately. (See Sec. 23).	..... .	Any Police Officer.	.....	Extermment at Government cost if he has no employment.
One who appears to be a pauper leper.	He who employs a leper in a trade can be fined upto Rs. 50/-.	Any Police Officer.	.....	.....
Begging.	Any person living on the earnings of vagrants deported out of Cochin.	Police Officer.	"A Minor" 16 years.	If work for able-bodied non-Cochin is not found within 3 months, he may be repatriated.
Asking for alms wandering or remaining in a manner indicating existence by begging.	R. I. upto 2 years or fine or both.	Army Police Officer authorised by Commissioner of Police or the D. M.	Under 14 years.	Non-Bengalis to be repatriated.
Wandering about and begging.	.....	Any Police Officer.	.....	.....
Begging or directing or permitting children under his control to beg.	Imprisonment upto 1 month or fine upto Rs. 50/- or both.	Police Officer.	.....	.....
Begging.	.....	Police Officer.	.....	.....
Begging importunately.	.....	Police Officer.	.....	.....
Begging importunately.	.....	.....	.....	.....
Begging in Public place, soliciting alms, wandering from door to door or exhibiting sores etc., for securing alms.	Punished with simple or rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to 3 months or with fine or both.	Police Officer and others authorized under the Bill.	Under the age of 12 years; young boys and girls upto the age of 18 are also placed under this category.	Non-Mysoriar beggars to be repatriated at Government cost.
Religious mendicant if he is a nuisance and not licensed by the Central Relief Committee.		• •		

door Relief. The former is relief given in any Institution under the Act and the latter is relief in cash or kind or both. The latter provision is made to take care of those who are real destitutes but are ashamed to beg and actually starve rather than beg in the open street—such cases can only be treated by Outdoor Relief. This method, however, is to be adopted only in the case of those deserving needy who do not need institutional care but outdoor help to prevent them from begging, and that too, with the approval of Government.

To meet the expenses of the Scheme there is to be a Beggar Relief Fund but it is not to be raised by taxation. Section 36 reads :—

“In order to carry out the purposes of this Act, a fund called the Central Relief Fund shall be formed. This Fund shall consist of :—(i) Subscriptions and donations. (ii) Grants from Government General Revenues, Muzrai or other sources. (iii) Grants from Local Boards, such as District Boards, Municipalities and Panchayets, and other private or public Institutions. (iv) Fines recovered under this Act. (v) Other sources, if any.

The supervision, direction and control of all matters relating to the administration of relief over the whole State is vested, according to this Bill, in the Central Relief Committee to be constituted by Government.

*Points for an Ideal Vagrancy Act.*—As India gains experience by experimenting with these various Acts dealing with the beggar, it should be possible to evolve an ideal Vagrancy Act to be passed by the Central Government, and to be put into force by Provincial Governments if and when they decide to do so.

These are some important points which, in my opinion, should be covered by a model legislation, and they are as follows :—

(1) All begging, and not merely importunate begging, should be made an offence.

(2) Begging should be made a cognizable offence.

(3) The power to take cognizance of public begging should be vested in (a) the police, (b) the magistracy, and (c) such officers as may be authorised by the Municipal Boards. We would also suggest that certain members of public social organisations, under certain conditions and rules, be authorised to arrest beggars. (There is precedence for such a practice in the S. P. C. A.)

(4) Not only the person who begs, but also the one who gives alms should be punished. None of the Indian Bills proposed or Acts passed deal directly with the almsgiver. In 1899 the Canton of Schwyz, in democratic Switzerland, passed a law making “persons who by giving alms, favour begging from house to house or in the street” liable to a fine of ten francs. Similarly, a police ordinance was issued some time ago in the Uelzen district

of Prussia to the effect that "giving of alms of any kind whatever to mendicant vagrants is prohibited on pain of a fine not exceeding nine marks." There is no reason why in India if begging is forbidden giving of alms should not be prohibited.

(5) A model Act should pay, as some of our legal measures do, special attention to the protection of the child beggar. Punishment of those who cause children to beg must be one of its provisions.

(6) Care should be taken to define clearly the different types of beggars to be treated in special institutions. There is a tendency to regard all beggars as requiring identical treatment.

The Bengal Vagrancy Bill the U. P. Municipalities Amendment Act 1942 and the Mysore Draft Bill show a fairly clear classification of beggars. Upon such classification will depend to a large extent the programme of individualized treatment. The Bombay Children's Act has taken care of delinquent children as no other province in India has done and the Chembur Children's Home is well worth following as a model for a home for destitute and delinquent children. We do not mean to suggest that the Chembur Home is an example of perfection, but taking our cue from that Institution we can build better.

If the beggar problem is to be tackled successfully we must establish an ideal Workhouse for able-bodied beggars. Nowhere in India does such an institution exist.

(7) As regards the leper beggars, instead of attempting to tackle them under a Vagrancy Act, public opinion should influence Government to enforce the Lepers Act of 1898. Pauper lepers can well be taken care of by that Act as there is an All India Leprosy Association with its branches in each province and most districts. Wherever special agencies exist it will be advisable for bodies interested in vagrancy not to cover the same ground but co-operate with them. This is an accepted principle in modern social work as it saves time, energy and expense, and further promotes united effort by eliminating unwholesome rivalry.

(8) Provision should be made for the externment of beggars who do not belong to the place where they are arrested.

(9) In regard to the establishment of institutions for various types of beggars, we would suggest the following methods for each Province. In every town and city of a province there should be a Receiving Centre. In every Province there should be one central Children's Home, a Labour Colony, a Leper Asylum and a Leper Hospital, a Hospital for those suffering from infectious diseases, all situated in one city, preferably the capital of the Province. The Receiving Centre in each city will also function as an Infirmary for the maintenance and care of the infirm.

We suggest this plan for we do not think it is financially a feasible proposition to have a ring of all these homes in each city. Such organised province-wide solution of the beggar problem is possible only if the Vagrancy Act provided for some such measures in the Act itself.

(10) Considering the fact that among the large population of beggars in India a good many suffer from hereditary defects as are likely to be transmitted to their children, it would be desirable to provide for the sterilization of such persons under the advice and guidance of expert medical men.

(11) Segregation of sexes is provided for in most of the Bills proposed and Acts passed. While segregation of sexes is necessary, no concern is shown anywhere, except in the Mysore Draft Bill, to the possibility of an entire family begging and being arrested. In case a husband and wife are arrested either together or separately, the Act should permit the provision of family quarters in institutions meant for the beggars. If they have children of tender age they may be allowed to stay with the parents.

So far as the Infirmary is concerned too much fuss need not be made to keep the sexes rigidly segregated. The old and the infirm living together in their old age will remove some of the boredom natural to the life of a disciplined existence in an institution. We would like to see these homes for vagrants develop on the lines of the Settlements for the 'criminal tribes'.

(12) Much of the delay in coming to grips with the problem in various places is due to the question of finance involved. For years past a controversy has been going on between the Government and the Municipality as to who should shoulder the responsibility. In December 1938, an important discussion took place at the All India Local Self Government Conference held at the Council Chamber of the Calcutta Corporation. Mr. B. N. Roy Choudhry in introducing the subject said:

"The greatest difficulty of handling vagrancy in this country arises from want of proper legislation in regard to poor relief and it has been a matter of controversy as to the respective responsibility of the local authorities and the Government in regard to poor relief. The Local authorities want to shift the burden on the shoulders of the Government and *vice versa*. We are now almost unanimous that the subject should be the joint concern of both the Government and the local authorities."

The conference finally concluded that the responsibility should be joint, but that the initiation of legislation, without which beggary could not be tackled, lay with the Government.

It is neither wise nor possible to depend upon private donations to run these institutions. Government must finance the scheme and they must raise the necessary funds by special taxation. The Gwalior Markets Act of 1936

(Samvat) provides for the control and disbursal of "Dharmadaya", a percentage of income set apart by merchants for charity. Such money is available all over India. It is well known that huge amounts are collected at most of the big and small temples and other places of worship all over India. Government should take courage in both hands and see that such money is spent for the amelioration of human suffering. The Calcutta Rotary Club suggested the increasing of trade licences by 12.5 per cent. The Indian Chamber of Commerce approved of this suggestion. Some others suggest that taxes on motors, cycles, marriages, telephones and public entertainments should all go to the tackling of the beggar problem.

Suffice it to say that the Vagrancy Act must accept the principle of levying fresh and specific taxes for the purpose of enforcing the Act. That done each Province may decide upon the nature of such taxation.

There is an interesting suggestion made in Art. 38 of the Belgian Law of 1891:

"The cost of relief given in execution of the present law may be recovered from the persons relieved or from those liable for their maintenance. It may also be recovered from those who are responsible for the injury or illness which necessitates the relief."

That a reasonable amount of responsibility should be laid upon those who cause beggary to continue or who promote individual beggary to come into existence is a sound theory and may be put to test by the proposed Vagrancy Act in India.

(13) At present maintenance of Poor Houses is a discretionary function of the Municipality. Government should take immediate steps to make it its obligatory function. We have already seen that on the Continent it is the joint concern of the Centre and the Provinces.

(14) There is a tendency in the various Vagrancy Bills to provide for short sentences for the vagrant. Experience both in England and the Continent points towards the advisability of long sentences. The Departmental Committee on Vagrancy of 1904 endorse the objections to short sentences which have been advanced times without number by critics of the Vagrancy Laws, and advocate sentences of not less than six months or more than three years; but they maintain that there should be power to curtail a sentence under certain conditions. No useful purpose will be served by sending beggars to Workhouses for a very short period. Therefore the Act may well lay down, in certain cases, the minimum sentence to be given.

(15) Every Vagrancy Act has a provision for dealing with escape and re-arrest. The suggestion in most cases is to enhance the punishment. While we do not object to such a provision in the Act, we are afraid too much concern is shown over the escape of inmates from Poor Houses. Escape of a beggar

should not be viewed in the same light as that of a convict from jail. If after his escape, he is not found begging and has taken to some decent way of living, then the purpose of the Act and the Poor House is already fulfilled. Therefore there is no need of enhancing his punishment. But if he is found begging again, then there is every justification for drastic steps. Rightly does the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy, 1904, observe: "If a colonist escapes, and is able to support himself without coming within the reach of the law, his escape from the colony is no matter for regret . . . if the detention is intended not so much as a punishment, but rather as a means of restraining the vagrant from his debased mode of life, the risk of his escaping need not be regarded so seriously as in the case of a criminal committed to prison to expiate his crime." Similarly, Monsieur Stroobant, Director of the unique Beggars Depot of Merxplas in Belgium, has this interesting observation to make:—

"Those who escape are the energetic man who, influenced by some ruling idea—it may be of a family in distress or other motives less laudable—seek to reclass themselves. They are not always by any means the most corrupt, and often when I learn that a fugitive is following regular work, I ask the Minister of Justice to suspend the order for his recapture. From the standpoint of the general security of the establishment the facility to escape constitutes a valuable safety valve, which, it is expedient to recognise. In truth the latent energies, which impel a man at all costs to seek emancipation from the bondage which he has to endure in the Beggars' Depot, are exhausted by flight.

A Vagrancy Act we do need. But there is danger in expecting too much from it. The object of such an Act must not and cannot be to make perfect men out of most imperfect material; it will be the far more modest one of correcting tendencies of character and conduct which are socially injurious, with a view to returning the objects of care to freedom, if they seriously wish to regain freedom, able, under favourable circumstances, to take their legitimate place among the citizens of the country. Only by setting before ourselves sane and moderate views shall we be able to advance towards our goal; to act otherwise will be to waste effort and court certain disappointments.

## A PLEA FOR SOCIAL SECURITY TO PREVENT PAUPERISM

J. M. KUMARAPPA

While the Beveridge Plan and the American Social Security Programme are engaging the attention of the world as daring schemes undertaken by the State to provide social protection for its citizens against want, little or nothing is being done in India to protect the wage-earners against the hazards of unemployment, sickness, old age, and widowhood which frequently reduce them to abject poverty. Dr. Kumarappa therefore makes a plea for a modest policy of Social Security Programme to prevent the pauperization of individuals and families of low income level as a part of our post-war reconstruction plan.

**I**N India poverty and pauperism did not appear as social problems until the disruption of the joint family system and the removal of production from the home to the factory. The modern methods of production have resulted in the accumulation of wealth and its concentration in the hands of the few. Failure to give adequate attention to the social arrangements involved has given rise to the appalling evils of industrialism to which workers the world over have fallen victims. It has also disintegrated our village economy, so much so, that owing to unemployment and poverty thousands migrate from rural areas to cities in search of employment making the situation in cities even worse. Modern industrialism then is one of the major causes of poverty and suffering among the lower classes. Industrial accidents, unemployment disease, and old age force many of them to take to begging as a means of livelihood.

In the preceding articles various aspects of this problem of beggary have been dealt with. We have also noticed that special classes, such as the aged, widows, the crippled, the blind, the feeble-minded, etc. need special care and treatment and that organised relief—indoor and outdoor—must take the place of indiscriminate charity. “All remedies of poverty fall into two classes—the palliative and the curative—the endeavour to relieve poverty or the attempt to prevent poverty.”<sup>1</sup> Modern scientific method is to attack it both ways. While modern charity is based on the principle of prevention, it does not ignore the immediate problem of providing relief for the poor and the needy in our midst. Since social security is a step towards the mitigation of poverty we make a plea for its introduction in our country for the protection of the poor, believing that the time is ripe for its favourable consideration.

We are painfully conscious of the rapid changes taking place throughout the world. And we too have been drawn into the maelstrom. What the aspect of the world would be after the war is beyond the pale of social prognostics. Yet one may hazard the general statement that the old order is being swept away, structure and spirit. In the melee of social adjustments that must inevitably follow the present chaos, the new social order must be formed

<sup>1</sup> Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, 1907, p. 687.



and the nature of that new order will be based on our experiences of, and reactions to, the present one. It may be frankly admitted that no one will regret if the old structure, at the altar of which priests in the name of capitalism sacrifice human blood and sweat, passes away. But it goes without saying that the present system of social living is one which makes parasitic exploitation thrive, renders sympathy between man and man impossible, creates and kindles hatred between members of different strata of society and denies good living to the masses of mankind. Indeed, ignorance, poverty, humiliation, disease and death have been the lot of the majority of men all over the world.

*Why Social Security.*—This war has shown, as no other war in history, that victory can be the result only of the concentrated efforts, physical and intellectual of all classes of men in a community. That is to say, war calls for sacrifices from all elements of society—from nobles, from workers, even from women, whatever their share of happiness or misery in times of peace. It is the one great lesson of the total war that all the elements and individuals of the State are bound each to each for weal or woe. The contributions of labour to the common weal are now becoming emphatically manifest and call for a new deal and status for labour. It is good that statesmen of all nations have realised betimes that the post-war social planning should ensure better social justice to all ranks in the State, better than what they upto now have enjoyed. It is to the securing of this objective to the people of England that the now famous Beveridge Plan sets itself; and the National Resources Planning Board and the Social Security Board's 7th Annual Report now before the Congress, seek to answer a like necessity in U. S. A. But England and America and many countries of Europe have already had some form of social security plans which have been worked with more or less efficiency. The problem before those countries is how to extend the benefits of social security already existing so that all individuals in the State, men, women and children, disabled and unemployed and all others requiring State help can be brought within the purview of the plan.

But India has to begin from the beginning. She has no experience of the social security programme, such as the West has. But all the evil and hazards that are to be found in the social life of the Western nations exist in our country also. Old age dependence, maternity risks, unemployment hazards, sickness liabilities and such other wants and crises which lead to the disintegration of the home and human personalities and reduce a nation's strength and affect its welfare are universal problems; and each country has them in a more or less intense degree. Hence, it is no wonder if we too are obliged to face the problem of social security in any post-war reconstruction effort. Indeed, the planning of a post-war social order for India should be

based on the dual principles of elimination of poverty among the masses, and insurance against all manner of risks for all those citizens that can be possibly brought under the scheme. Looked into closely the latter principle is only a method of tackling the national problem of poverty while the former is the objective to be achieved.

A plea for Social Security for India is not based on the psychology of imitation, on the habit of doing what the other countries in the West are doing. Though it is but natural to be stirred into similar ways of thinking and doing while all other countries are planning for the elimination of poverty among them, our plea is based on the full recognition of the pressing needs of our crores of men, women and children, who live from day to day in the paralysing fear of insecurity. Among the countries of the world India is known to be a rich country inhabited by poor men. Though this looks like a derision and a paradox it is nevertheless a poignant fact. The poverty of India is so self-evident that even a hurricane foreign tourist through any part of India can easily observe. Statistically computed the income per capita in India, according to Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao was Rs. 65.4 during the year 1931-32. In other words, the average monthly earnings of an Indian amounted to a little more than Rs. 5/- in 1931. Considering the abject penury of the majority of Indians who hardly have a single square meal a day it is very doubtful if they can ever be credited with having the princely income of Rs. 5/- per mensem. Staring facts belie such statistical speculations. Moreover, in a country like India where there are tremendous differences in scales of income—and a very few have what may be called steady income—any average of income is bound to be false and deceptive. Though the poverty of India is an appalling fact, it is not due to any single factor, economic, political, social or any other. As a matter of fact, it is the cumulative effect of many contributory causes. Nevertheless, unemployment may be reckoned as one of the main factors causing wide-spread poverty in India.

*Extent of Unemployment.*—In the absence of statistical information it is difficult to estimate the number of unemployed in India. Moreover, the artificial conditions created by the war have provided temporary employment to thousands of our men hitherto unemployed, thus submerging the problem of unemployment for the time being. But the fear is widely and justifiably entertained that as soon as the war ceases India will return to its former position of poverty and unemployment unless, indeed, she introduces in the not distant future a social security programme which shall include an effective unemployment relief scheme.

From the Tables given on page 140 we get an idea of the total number of earners and dependants and the general distribution of occupations in India.

TABLE I  
*Earners and Dependants in 1931*

	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Total Population ... ..	350,529,557	180,620,612	169,908,945
Total Earners ... ..	125,270,827	94,415,536	27,855,291
Total Working Dependants	28,615,063	7,644,575	20,070,488
Total Non-Working Dependants.	196,643,667	75,560,501	121,083,166

TABLE II  
*General Distribution of Occupations in 1931*

Exploitation of animals and vegetation	Exploitation of minerals	Industry (including Textiles, Hides & skins, wood, building etc.)	Transport including post and telegraph	Trade	Public Administration & Liberal Arts
110,760,324	404,262	17,523,982	9,778,520	9,336,969	4,819,452

It may be seen from Table I that non-working dependants are considerably more than the earners. Even if we exclude the total working dependants, who are a little more than one fourth the number of total earners, non-working dependants constitute much more than one half of the entire population of India—a very great strain indeed on the earners considering their slender income capacities. A glance at Table II will show that persons occupied in services promising steady employment constitute a minute fraction of earners. Except a few public administration services like the army, the navy, the police and the State services, and a few of the transport services the rest of the occupations provide no security of permanent employment. In occupations involving the exploitation of animals and vegetation and minerals, in industry, in transport services, and in trade one is frequently faced with the problem of seasonal employment and sometimes with partial employment. Seasonal and partial employment are parts of the unemployment problem; and though they are not as disastrous in their consequences as total long-term unemployment are yet potent enough to degenerate the individual and the family.

*The Tragedy of Unemployment.*—Unemployment is one of the misfortunes most feared by wage-earners. "Non-employment or loss of employment in nearly every wage-earner's career", declares L. W. Squire, "stands as spectre of forbidden mien, with a gaunt finger pointing the way to charity and old age dependency." The truth of this statement is seen in the fact that unemployment and irregular employment undermines the morale of the jobless. The

discouragement, the feeling of helplessness and uncertainty are most demoralizing. Enforced but intermittent illness produces restlessness. Frequent and prolonged unemployment destroys ambition and the sense of family responsibility, and brings about utter demoralization.

The effect of unemployment on the worker and his family is disastrous. As Mr. A. Epstein points out, it frequently decides whether the worker shall drift from his skilled to any unskilled job; whether his wife shall add to her duties that of supplementing husband's wages, or whether the children shall be undernourished or enter prematurely some blind alley occupation. Lack of work affects the industrious and thrifty workers as well as the indolent and irresponsible ones. It not only sweeps away the savings—accumulation of many years—but destroys the habit of thrift. It is no wonder therefore if the worker, uncertain of the morrow, is encouraged to lead a hand-to-mouth existence. A crisis in this level of existence is likely to make him fall back on public charity for his support and that of his family. In other words, unemployment lessens income, reduces working efficiency, demoralizes the worker and his family, produces industrial and political unrest, and a variety of social vices. Unemployment is, indeed, "a culture bed for pauperism and its accompanying evils."

*Why Don't They Save?*—If unemployment brings so much misery and suffering to the wage-earner and their families, why, some ask, don't they save? The popular opinion is that any able-bodied man who wants to work can find work and that any one who is unemployed must be physically, mentally or morally inferior. Further, it is assumed that any person who is reasonably industrious and thrifty could lay aside enough money to provide against temporary bad times as sickness and old age. But is the prevailing wage rate high enough to meet his and his family's need, for food, clothes and shelter, and then put by enough to cover days or periods of enforced illness, as well as sickness and old age? The Table given below indicates the usual wage rates in cities, towns and mofussils:—

TABLE III  
*Daily Wages of Workers*

Workers				Cities	Towns	Mofussil
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Skilled	...	...	...	1-4-0 to 2-8-0	1-0-0 to 2-4-0	0-14-0 to 2-0-0
Semi-skilled	...	...	...	0-12-0	0-10-0	0-6-0
Unskilled	...	...	...	0-12-0	0- 8-0	0-5-0
Unskilled Women Workers	...	...	...	0- 8-0	0- 6-0	0-4-0

The above wages are hardly enough to meet the needs of a working class family made up of the worker, his wife and two children. Because such wages are inadequate, it becomes necessary to make the wife and children work to supplement the family income. The industry which underpays its workers has no right to exist as it makes the wife and children labour to make both ends meet. It is indeed a cruel form of exploitation. But this is not the whole story. Industrial strife, which is so common an aspect of our modern industry, makes a further reduction in the family's monthly earnings. The following Table sets out the number of disputes each year since 1930, the number of persons affected by them and the number of working days lost.

TABLE IV  
*Industrial Disputes in India*  
1930-39

Year	Disputes	Workers affected	Working days lost
1930	140	196,301	2,261,731
1931	166	203,008	2,408,123
1932	118	128,099	1,922,437
1933	146	164,938	2,168,961
1934	159	220,808	4,775,559
1935	145	114,217	973,475
1936	157	169,029	2,358,062
1937	379	647,801	8,982,257
1938	399	401,075	9,198,708
1939	406	409,189	4,992,795
TOTAL	2,223	2,654,465	40,042,108

These figures are significant: Within a period of ten years there occurred a total of 2,223 strikes and lock-outs involving a total of 2,654,465 employees. The time loss amounted to 40,042,108 days. This means considerable financial loss to the workers affected. Industrial disputes, while generally helpful to elevate the worker's standard, frequently sap the little savings, if any, and drive him to the money lender or on the road to beg. Is it any wonder then if our workers, instead of having a bank account are heavily indebted? "The majority of industrial workers," reports the Royal Commission on Labour, "are in debt for the greater part of their working lives. Many, indeed, are born in debt and it evokes both admiration and regret to find how commonly a son assumes responsibility for his father's debt—an obligation which rests on religious and social but seldom on legal sanction. It is estimated that, in most industrial centres, the proportion

of families or individuals who are in debt is not less than two-thirds of the whole. We believe that, in the majority of cases, the amount of debt exceeds three months' wages and is often in excess of this amount.'"<sup>2</sup> Similarly in rural areas the problem of indebtedness is very serious and so also the problems of unemployment and poverty are very great. Under such circumstances is it possible for poor wage-earners to save to protect himself and his family against any form of misfortune or crisis?

*Unemployment Insurance.*—In view of the disastrous effects of unemployment, the inability of the worker to save and the amount of unemployment which normally exists in our country, it is necessary to devise ways and means of protecting the unemployed. For purposes of treatment we may classify the unemployed under different heads: (a) those who are temporarily unemployable; (b) those who are temporarily unemployed but inefficient; (c) those who are employable but more or less permanently unemployed; (d) those who are unemployable and permanently unemployed and (e) those who are permanently unemployed and unwilling to work.

The causes which bring about these various classes of unemployed are many and diverse. Some of them are found in the very nature of our industrial organization itself such as fluctuation in the demand for labour and the labour policies of industries. Some others are found in the individual himself such as mental and physical defect, lack of training, etc. Still others arise from social changes and natural disturbances. The methods we adopt for the solution of this problem must attack the root causes. To begin with, it is necessary to stabilise industry and dovetail seasonal industries. Then we need well organized employment exchanges and they must work in co-operation with the best social services agencies. We must have vocational training centres to train youth. Further, there should be correctional institutions to retain the unemployable who are "work-shy".

But this is not all. For those who are involuntarily unemployed, we must provide unemployment insurance to prevent personal and family disorganization. The principle underlying unemployment insurance is not new. It is the same principle on which our joint family system is based, namely, that in times of crisis the burden of an individual member should not be borne by himself alone but should be shared by the other members of the family. Unemployment insurance really means that the burden now borne by workers who are involuntarily idle will be spread over a large part of society. Since enforced idleness is due not to personal causes but social, its cost should be borne, not wholly by the man himself but by the employer and the State.

Some of the industrial hazards may best be guarded against by means

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Royal Commission on Labour, 1931, p. 243.

of unemployment insurance and sickness insurance schemes. In our country unemployment insurance, whether voluntary or compulsory, does not exist at all, while voluntary sickness insurance exists among a very few mills to provide benefits only to a handful of workers who contribute their share to the insurance fund. The industrially unemployed have no option but to knock about till they find a job or, if they do not find one, to beg, borrow or steal. There are not even private charity organizations to provide the unemployed with means of livelihood. In America prior to 1929 the burden of providing relief to the unemployed "was borne by private organizations operating locally, and, in larger measure, by local public agencies."<sup>3</sup> State agencies supervised the dispensing of relief. But within a decade social insurance measures have progressed so much in America that during the six months ending June 30, 1938, 2,500,000 workers out of a number of 27,500,000 who were covered by insurance, received benefits.<sup>4</sup> The credit of compulsory unemployment insurance goes to Switzerland which introduced it as early as 1904. But the experience of Great Britain in compulsory unemployment insurance is much greater as the system was introduced as far back as 1911; and it has passed through several amendments during the succeeding years, culminating in the suggestions contained in the Beveridge Plan. Italy, Austria and other European countries before the war had their schemes of compulsory unemployment insurance. One point worthy of note is that though in most countries unemployment insurance experience dates back to only three decades, yet during the period the scheme has been found to be extremely useful in preventing poverty and dependence, and hence it has had phenomenal extension in recent years.

Unemployment insurance generally provides benefits to persons who have lost their livelihood. Under the Beveridge Plan an unemployed person gets removal and lodging grants. Unemployment benefit will continue as long as unemployment lasts, but is usually subject to a condition of attendance at a work or training centre after a certain period. This means the scheme contemplates not merely financial benefit but technical rehabilitation of the individual. The receipt of unemployment benefits is subject to the condition that the worker will have actually paid 26 contributions towards his insurance.

Though compulsory unemployment insurance has worked well in other countries there are great difficulties in the way of its introduction in India. One tremendous difficulty is the low income level of the Indian worker which we have already considered and which makes it impossible for him to put by for an emergency.

<sup>3</sup> Millsaugh, A. C., *Public Welfare Organisation*, p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> See Stewart, M. S., *Security or the Dole*, p. 11.

With money barely sufficient to feed himself and his family, the Indian worker cannot be expected to contribute anything towards his unemployment insurance. Perhaps the scheme of unemployment insurance may be tried among the skilled workers in cities. But skilled workers are only a few while semi-skilled and unskilled workers are legion. Also the skilled worker has more or less steady employment while the semi-skilled and the unskilled worker is the constant victim of unemployment hazards. It is wage-earners of this class who are most in need of insurance protection and yet wholly incapable of joining contributory insurance. Since society is responsible for the present day economic organization which brings about involuntary unemployment, it is its duty to assume the burden of social protection and not impose it on the poorest and most insecure of the population, and grant unemployment assurance not as charity but as a matter of right.

*Sickness Insurance.*—Sickness insurance in India, in so far as it affects the health and means of living of the industrial worker, suffers from the same defects as unemployment insurance. But the incidence of sickness must be guarded against not only among the workers but among the nation as a whole. Sickness is a national problem, and underlying it is the question of nutrition and health of the entire community. It is frequently disease that disintegrates and dismembers the Indian family. While illness of the earning member paralyses the sources of income, illness of the members of the family drains and impoverishes the resources of the family. Sickness, therefore, may be characterized as one of the major causes of India's pauperization. Influenza, tuberculosis, small-pox, malaria, respiratory diseases and a dozen other nameless ones take their heavy toll of victims annually. The incidence of death by disease in British India in 1936 and 1937 are given below :

TABLE V  
*Deaths from Diseases in British India*

Disease	Deaths	
	1936	1937
Cholera ... ..	159,720	99,054
Small-pox ... ..	104,805	54,810
Plague ... ..	13,021	28,169
Dysentery & Diarrhoea ... ..	281,666	267,479
Respiratory Diseases ... ..	493,441	487,319
Fevers ... ..	3,593,497	3,569,590
Other causes ... ..	1,729,581	1,695,954
Total ... ..	6,375,731	6,202,375

The above Table shows that the largest number of deaths are due to "fevers" but unfortunately the separate figures relating to the individual



diseases contained in the group are seldom given as the present system of registration makes this impossible. Nevertheless, among fevers malaria continues to be the gravest menace to the wage-earners. Colonel Sinton, of the Indian Medical Service, pointed out not long ago that at least one hundred million individuals suffer yearly from malaria in British India alone, and of these only about a tenth receive treatment in hospitals. Major Bently, also of the Indian Medical Service, made a special study of malaria in Bengal. According to his estimate, some eighty thousand villages in the province were stricken with malaria. He reckoned that some 30 million people suffer from the disease in Bengal alone. It has been calculated that deaths from malaria during 1936 amounted to 1,567,084, or about 44 per cent of total recorded 'fever' deaths. Malaria is more common in rural areas than in towns, though it is bad enough in the latter.

Public health statistics in India seldom indicate the social importance of many of the widespread diseases among the poor. For example, typhoid fever is perhaps of even greater importance in relation to poverty in the sickness it causes than in the deaths resulting from it. For every death from typhoid fever there are about eight cases of illness averaging 75 days of inability to work. Moreover, the conditions producing typhoid result also in other forms of sickness. Similarly, malaria by its frequent attacks, very materially affects the worker's earning capacity, lowers his vitality and predisposes him to other causes of death. In fact, it causes more sickness and loss of working power than any other disease in India. Further, from sickness statistics referring to India it is not known how many earning members of families are affected, what are the number of working hours lost (of industrial workers during sickness), what is the amount actually expended on medical care, and what is the total of wages lost due to absence from work during illness.

During 1930-31 the Bombay Labour Office conducted an enquiry into sickness incidence among the cotton mill workers in Bombay City. Their results embodied in Table VI on page 147 makes revealing reading. It shows, in a limited field of enquiry, that about 22% received no medical treatment at all, while about 40% of the sick resorted to country medicines. What type of country medicines was used is not known. But there is no doubt that the workers resorted to treatments of doubtful efficacy driven by the forbidding costs of proper medical care. Of course, there is the element of superstition and ignorance which influence the Indians' preference of quack medicines and country remedies. Most often sick workers and their families content themselves with wearing charms supposed to be potent enough to drive away any disease or deformity belonging to the body and the brain. But making allowance for superstitious ideas, it must be said that poverty is at the root of

TABLE VI

*Medical Treatment Received by Workers during Sickness*<sup>5</sup>

Kind of Treatment	Males		Females		Total no. of cases	Percentage to total
	No. of cases	Percentage	No. of cases	Percentage		
No Treatment ... ..	870	18.80	347	34.77	1,217	21.63
Country Medicines ... ..	1,848	39.92	401	40.18	2,249	39.97
Western Medicines ... ..	1,536	33.18	195	19.54	1,731	30.76
Country and Western Medicines ...	44	0.95	3	0.30	47	0.84
Patent Medicines... ..	294	6.35	46	4.61	340	6.04
Patent and Western Medicines ...	7	0.15	...	...	7	0.12
Patent and Country Medicines ...	4	0.09	...	...	4	0.07
Patent, Country and Western Medicines	1	0.02	...	...	1	0.02
Other remedies including imperfectly specified ... ..	25	0.54	6	0.60	31	0.55
TOTAL ... ..	4,629	100.00	998	100.00	5,627	100.00

the worker's medical preferences. It is not true to say, as is generally done, that Indians' denial of scientific medical care of themselves is based on natural antipathy towards Western methods of treatment. We can affirm from our experience that Indians are not slow to take advantage of modern medicine when it is made accessible to them. The question is not Indian or foreign medicine. Whichever is found to be effective must be recommended and administered to the sick. But the Indian worker has so far found the costs of medical care much beyond his means. Indeed, proper medical care is looked upon by the average Indian as a luxury! Perhaps, the only proper medicine which the poor Indian takes—and that unconsciously—is chlorine, when water is chlorinated at its source!

In recommending the provision of adequate medical facilities, the development of welfare schemes, and the construction of working class houses, the Royal Commission on Labour persuasively remarked: "There are few directions offering such great opportunity for profitable investment on the part of the State. The economic loss involved in the birth and rearing of great numbers of children who do not live to make any return to the community, in

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by Keni, V. P., *The Problem of Sickness Insurance*, p. 35.

the sickness and disease which debilitate a large proportion of the workers and in early death, with the consequent reduction of the earning years is incalculable. Even a small step in the prevention of these ills would have an appreciable effect in increasing the wealth of India ; a courageous attack on them might produce a revolution in the standards of life and prosperity.”<sup>6</sup>

It has been calculated that the average daily cost of medicine per indoor patient in the Maratha Tuberculosis Hospital, Bombay, during the nine years from 1931-39 was Rs. 0-1-7.<sup>7</sup> This is the lowest possible estimate. Based on this calculation, it is suggested that the worker should contribute his share compulsorily towards a sickness insurance fund, the employer should contribute double the amount the worker contributes and the State should pay towards the fund at least one fifth the sum of the worker's contribution. In other words, a tripartite contributory sickness insurance fund should be instituted and made compulsory in all industries. This is a very feasible suggestion. Though it is difficult to induce the worker to put by as. 5/- per month for his sickness insurance, it is not impossible. But will the employer come forward with his share of as. 10/- per month per worker? And is the Government ready to pay towards the fund one anna per mensem per head?

The whole problem of sickness incidence should be viewed as a national problem. Indeed, the health and vitality of the entire population should be the first concern of the State. During their illness, individuals, whether they are workers or non-workers, are burdens to themselves and to others. In view of the importance of health to national welfare, Health Insurance Societies in England and America have undertaken to give medical aid to whomsoever contributes on an insurance basis. Also groups of individuals in various localities unite for obtaining medical benefits for themselves and their families. For a specified annual fee the members of the group are entitled to get hospital care for a specified number of days. This system of obtaining medical benefit is well known as Group Hospitalization. In America groups of people belonging to a region, sometimes whole villages, obtain medical service in this manner. There is now compulsory health insurance in the various countries of the world, including Japan. Generally, insurance is compulsory only for wage-earners and for employed persons receiving less than a specified income.<sup>8</sup>

In no other country in the world does health insurance apply to the entire population as in Soviet Russia. Soviet health insurance, says M. Stewart, is about as all-inclusive as it is possible to be. “All workers are included without exception.” There is no restriction because of income, and the right

<sup>6</sup> Report of the Royal Commission on Labour, 1931, p. 243.

<sup>7</sup> See Keni, V. P., *The Problem of Sickness Insurance*, p. 48.

<sup>8</sup> Reed, L. S., *Health Insurance*, p. 210.

to obtain benefit commences after two months' employment. The law provides full wages for a worker during a leave of absence because of illness, when quarantined by a contagious sickness of someone in his family, or while nursing a sick member of the family. There is no waiting period; benefits begin on the day of sickness. "Full wages" does not, however, include piece-work earnings, and is subject to a maximum of 180 roubles a month. In addition to obtaining his wages, the patient is entitled to full medical care, including the service of specialists and surgeons. Free care in hospitals and sanitariums is provided when needed, as are drugs, medicines, and appliances. This service is granted not only to the insured person, as in Great Britain, but to the entire family. Permanent and partial disability are provided for by a rather complex system of pensions, which vary in accordance with need, and the degree of the disability.<sup>9</sup>

Steps taken in the field of protection against sickness have been found to produce notable results. Summarizing the German experience of health insurance, Dr. Frieda Wunderlich adds: "Health insurance has protected the health of the German people in a period in which starvation and misery threatened it with deterioration. It has survived all strains of the War and its aftermath and has been little affected by the depression. Specifically, it has lowered the death rate, sheltered pregnant mothers and infants, removed one of the largest causes for seeking poor relief, and raised relief standards. Through its mass records of illness it has contributed toward extending the scope of medical research and toward effective preventive measures, enabled the hospitals to modernize and increase their equipment, removed one of the principal handicaps in the professional paths of the young doctor, and has tended to make more uniform the geographical distribution of medical facilities."<sup>10</sup>

While other countries have made so much progress, we are still far behind in this respect. The question of sickness insurance was brought to the notice of the Government of India in 1928 by the recommendations of the International Labour Conference. In its reply to the Conference the Government stated that it was not feasible just then to introduce sickness insurance owing to the migratory character of labour, the worker's habit of returning to his village at times of illness, the lack of sufficient number of medical practitioners and the opposition of workers to compulsory deductions from their pay. Since the incidence of sickness among the working classes is very high, and the worker during periods of illness finds himself destitute of resources, the Royal Commission suggested that all methods that may lead to the allevia-

<sup>9</sup> Stewart, M., *Social Security*, (1937), p. 27.

<sup>10</sup> Wunderlich, Frieda, "What Health Insurance did for Germany." *Social Security*, 1936. (New York, American Association for Social Security, Inc.) 1936, pp. 139, 140.

tion of the existing hardships should be explored. The tentative scheme formulated by the Commission separated the responsibility for the medical and financial benefits. The former, maintained the Commission, could be undertaken by Government on a non-contributory basis, the latter through the employers on the basis of contributions by themselves and by the workers.<sup>11</sup>

And this was some twelve years ago. Although illness is the most common hazard to which every working class family is exposed, it is not yet covered by social insurance. The medical facilities are hopelessly inadequate, and the wages paid make it impossible for most workers to get through periods of crisis without borrowing, or making their wives and children work. The need for sickness insurance in our country is apparent. The difficulties of putting through such a scheme are no doubt formidable, but they do not absolve the Government of its responsibility of providing the worker relief during periods of protracted illness.

*Workmen's Compensation.*—Let us now turn our attention to the tragic toll of the injuries and deaths resulting from accidents. The two major sources of accidents are our machine industry and the high speed transportation. Unfortunately, complete and accurate statistical information is woefully lacking, not that we do not have statistical bureaus but they are more concerned with material things than with human events. Hence, we know less about such an important matter as the number of accidental injuries suffered by our population and more about the quantity of cotton imported or peanuts exported.

We shall deal here only with industrial accidents. Even in this field our statistical information is fragmentary as only accidents which occur in industries which come under the Factories Act are recorded for purposes of compensation. In recognition of the hazards of industrial work the first step towards social security in India was taken with the introduction of the Workmen's Compensation Act in 1923. Its scope which was very limited has now been increasingly enlarged by numerous amendments to the Act from 1926 to 1939. The Act now provides coverage for occupational diseases also—though such cases for compensation have been few—with this requisition that the employee should have served more than 6 months to claim the benefits falling under occupational diseases. The Workmen's Compensation Act includes only those with monthly income below Rs. 300/- and it is administered on provincial lines. The rate of compensation varies according to the nature and extent of the accident, the wage, and the majority or minority of the worker.

The Act was passed in July 1924. From that date to December 1940 there were over 360,000 accidents for which compensations were paid. Of these there were about 11,000 deaths, the rest being non-fatal cases. Industrial

<sup>11</sup> Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, p. 268.

accidents always present an economic problem as they involve either a total loss of income or a loss of earning capacity. The industrial accidents differ from other groups of accidents in that they choose a class as their victim—the class of wage-earners who are least able to bear the burden. To the worker accident means death, mutilation, disfigurement, dismemberment, pain and suffering, expense of recovery and loss of earning capacity.

Industrial injury is in a special way the result of modern civilization. It is closely connected with the factory and the machine. Many, if not all, of the hazards are a distinct consequence of this industrial system. But what does an industrial injury mean in terms of human values? It may mean death at one extreme. It may mean nothing more than a slight wound at the other. But in between these two extremes it may mean a great many things. Let us briefly consider these various possibilities. 11,000 deaths—mostly of men in their vigor of life—from industrial accidents! It means that many groups of families lost their bread-winner and several times that number of dependants were left without support. And then, 349,000 non-fatal accidents and these include temporary and permanent disablement. Temporary disability involves a period of enforced illness; there is the cost of recovery and the loss of wages. Further, the injury, the pain, the anxiety and the economic loss are considerable. This is so in the case of temporary disability. One can imagine how much more will be the loss and anxiety if the inability to resume one's normal occupation with the same efficiency as before is not temporary but permanent. In this group are thousands who remain alive but with injuries so serious that they are totally disabled for life. It includes thousands who lose an eye or both eyes, one leg or two legs, an arm or a hand or one or more fingers.

The wage-earners are workers with their hands and arms and feet and eyes. Their economic efficiency depends on their physiological efficiency. Deprived of these they become helpless and dependent and in many cases they suffer a considerable reduction in their earning capacity. Not a few of those rendered blind, one-armed, one-legged, total cripples are forced to join the rank of beggars. Fatal accidents to wage-earners mean broken families, dependent widows, neglected children and orphans, reduced standard of living, malnutrition and deteriorated health. In mechanised industry fatal accidents, they say, will happen. If this is the price we have to pay for our economic progress, is it not enough if we exact that price in human life? Must we also exact the additional price of want and destitution from their wives, children and other dependants? Of course not, we say; industry must bear the financial loss which is really no burden to it as the loss is shifted on to the consumers by adding it to the cost of production.

Most of us then approve of compensation as a just and efficient method

of handling the economic consequences of industrial accidents. But what is the basis of compensation and what is it in reality? Compensation may be (1) equal and uniform; (2) adjusted to need; and (3) adjusted to loss, i. e., previous wages. The principle of equal and uniform benefits is rarely applied to accident compensation. And seldom are benefits adjusted to needs. The prevailing principle is the adjustment of benefits to wages, that is, an adjustment primarily to losses. The law in the literal sense of the word is a law of compensation and should mean full and not partial compensation. It should mean "complete compensation for losses sustained; for the cost of medical treatment and care, for the loss of wages for the duration of disability". But is it so in reality? The provision relating to the amounts of compensation of the Workmen's Compensation Act as amended are given in the Table below:

TABLE VII  
*Rates of Compensation for Different Wage Classes*<sup>12</sup>

Monthly wages of the workman injured		Amount of compensation for :		Half monthly payment as compensation for temporary disablement of adult	
		Death of adult	Permanent total disablement of adult		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)		
More than Rs.	But not more than Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	As.
0	10	500	700	his	Half monthly wages
10	15	550	770	5	0
15	18	600	840	6	0
18	21	630	882	7	0
21	24	720	1,008	8	0
24	27	810	1,134	8	8
27	30	900	1,260	9	0
30	35	1,050	1,470	9	8
35	40	1,200	1,680	10	0
40	45	1,350	1,890	11	4
45	50	1,500	2,100	12	8
50	60	1,800	2,520	15	0
60	70	2,100	2,940	17	8
70	80	2,400	3,360	20	0
80	100	3,000	4,200	25	0
100	200	3,500	4,900	30	0
200	.....	4,000	5,600	30	0

Whether our compensation system is good or imperfect can only be judged by the treatment it provides for serious accidents involving grave economic consequences—cases of permanent total disablement. What a gruesome story of suffering, despair and economic distress each one of such

<sup>12</sup> Schedule IV to the Act.

cases represents! The totally blinded, the armless, the legless, the worker with a broken back! Hopelessly handicapped through accident! If the worker before his permanent disablement received a monthly wage of Rs. 10/-, he will be entitled to a compensation of Rs. 700/- which represents his 70 months' or little less than six years' wages. What is he to do after this period? Is it right on the part of industry to make him shift for himself, to become a dependant or a street beggar for the rest of his life? Are not those who belong to the group of totally and permanently disabled entitled to life benefits? The significant feature of partial disability is that it does not altogether destroy but only reduces the earning capacity. As the loss expresses itself in reduction of wages, compensation must be based upon the amount of that reduction for the duration of that disability, that is, till death. So long as the entire loss is not covered but only a specific portion of it, it cannot be considered satisfactory. It will only create a large body of cripples and semi-cripples dependent on public charity for the rest of their lives and also reduce thousands of families to a very low standard of living.

And now the fatal accidents. The amount of compensation payable in the case of the injured workman when monthly wage is not more than Rs. 10/- is Rs. 500/- for death. If he is a single man without dependants then the economic loss is not serious. At the other extreme is the married man with a wife, several small children and other dependants to support. Our Compensation Act provides only for a uniform treatment without differentiating the needs of the two cases which is obviously unjust. Compensation should be adjusted according to the need of the dependants. Our Act provides only a lump sum death benefit equal to about four years' wages. The amount if paid out all at once looms large in the eyes of the disconsolate widow. But how much security does it offer for the duration of her widowhood and the children's minority?

Judged by these standards, we must admit that our compensation system is inadequate and imperfect. Nevertheless, it indicates that we have accepted the principle of compensation which is economically sound and ethically just. But we have yet to achieve the standards of a good compensation law. Millions are still uncovered by the Act. Its scope therefore has to be extended and payment should be adjusted to needs. To the employer the additional cost of compensation insurance is not a serious expense; to the consumer it only means a small increase in the price of goods but to the wage earner compensation means much more. It is protection against misery, suffering and want. Security against hazards of work conditions is the inalienable right of the wage-earner, and it is the duty of society to provide him and his family protection against poverty and pauperism resulting from industrial accidents.



*The Aged Poor.*—While medical science is striving to prolong man's life, the machine industry is reducing his period of usefulness. Though the phrase "old at forty" may be an exaggerated statement of the problem, it has been found from experience in running an employment bureau that a man over forty is at a disadvantage in securing employment in industry and that opportunities of finding a job are few for a man of fifty. Even while men are in employment it is not an uncommon practice in some establishments to weed them out as soon as they show signs of slowing down. When then, one many ask, is a man old? In answer to this question we must say that the real test is the test of fitness to carry on his job. It is not merely a question of being young or old, but of being too young or too old for this, that or the other type of work. Pragmatic standards of efficiency are the criteria applied to test a person's fitness. Ordinarily, strength begins to decline much before physical health, and mental powers begin to deteriorate at a more advanced age. Naturally therefore in primitive civilization, when physical effort was essential, brawn was of more importance in the economic usefulness of a man than his brain. But in an agricultural civilization like ours, custodians of long experience and sound judgment play an important part in transmitting the accumulated knowledge from one age to another. Hence, the mental rather than the physical attitudes of old age determine its social status. Reverence for age has thus become the foundation of all social relationships in our rural civilization and has given old men and women not only an important role but also protection in the joint family system.

But unfortunately science is proving detrimental to the security of old age in our country in more ways than one. It is responsible for speeding up the methods of production. The introduction of modern industry, with its private wage contract is disintegrating our rural economy. While the family unit is the centre of agriculture, the individual is the centre of a wage contract. Industrial employment presupposes a definite amount of working capacity and ability to keep up with the speed of the machine. A wage contract therefore has to be entered into under competitive conditions where the aged are placed at a disadvantage in competing with younger and stronger men. Then again, practically all modern tendencies, even those which are supposed to be initiated in his own welfare, work against the older employee. The increasing standard of efficiency, the elimination of skill and experience, workmen's compensation laws etc., all tend to discourage the hiring of older workers. The basic requirements of speed and alertness of modern industry necessitates the casting aside of older workers as so much industrial scrap-heap. Can we blame the old worker if he bemoans the fact that prolongation of life without proportionately increasing the period of usefulness only results in increasing

the years of drudgery and destitution ? Is it any wonder then if old age under these inevitable conditions of modern industry becomes a serious economic and social problem ?

Further, science is now laying the basis for an urban civilization in India. In doing so it is disintegrating the joint family system which serves even now in rural areas the purpose of an old age pension. The joint family has through the ages cared for the aged and such responsibility is the most natural solution of the problem. But modern industrial conditions not only disintegrate this system but make it impossible for children and relatives to afford the expenses involved in caring for their aged parents owing to the low wages and higher costs of living in industrial cities. Even at that, many reduce their requirements and those of their children to the barest minimum possible in order to care for their old parents. Though such filial affection and the sense of duty are admirable one wonders if it is just that the little children have their rights sacrificed in the interests of their aged grandparents. The case of the old person who has no relatives upon whom to depend is even more pitiable.

Out of a population of about 400,000,000 there are approximately 30,000,000 persons of 60 years and over in India. In other words, it means that for every 1,000 of the population there are about 14 persons who are 60 years old or more, some of whom are protected by pensions, personal savings, income from property or by relations. It is only those who are not covered thus that are in need of State protection, as the possibilities of self-support for them are infinitely less now than in a pre-machine era. Thousands of the aged who are reduced to destitution and beggary are persons who had borne their share of the world's work for thirty or forty years and made their humble contribution to the creation of wealth. Is it fair to let these veterans of toil to seek, at the eve of their life, charity for food and the pavements to rest their weary head ?

*Old Age Assistance.*—How then is this problem to be solved ? We are aware that, while in some instances personal depravity is responsible for misery and dependency, the major causes of old age dependency lie in our institutions, in our changing social and economic order. Low wages, unemployment, strikes and lockouts, business failures and industrial superannuation are more potent causes than idleness or thriftlessness which are not infrequently the effects of the former maladjustments. In view of the seriousness of the problem and the untold misery it causes, many of the countries have adopted measures for its solution or mitigation, and we can well learn from their valuable experience.

Of the great powers of the world, it was Germany which gave the lead in providing protection to the aged. It was in 1889 that the German plan of

compulsory insurance was enacted and naturally therefore it is the oldest plan in operation. Under this system insurance is compulsory for manual workers and others earning upto 7,200 marks (about Rs. 5,500) a year. And now forty-two nations provide security of some kind or other for the aged. It is interesting to note that old-age insurance has definitely passed through the stage of voluntary protection and is now compulsory in practically all civilized countries. Within the last ten years old-age security from being the concern of labour and social welfare organisations has become one of the major issues in the United States of America. Old age assistance legislation, starting with Arizona as far back as 1914, has gone on spreading rapidly. In 1936, the Federal Government extended co-operation to States in financing old-age assistance. By September 1938 all the American States qualified themselves for Federal Aid by adopting old-age assistance scheme.<sup>13</sup>

Thus practically all the progressive countries of the world have adopted measures to protect the aged from a life of misery and pauperism. But we in India have not yet become aware of the gravity of the problem. Certain amount of protection in old age is no doubt provided in some establishments. Government servants are covered by old-age pensions. Most municipalities and public utility services and a few public concerns have adopted provident fund benefits some of which are contributory and others non-contributory. In 1941 the Government of Bombay made subscription to the Government Provident Fund compulsory for all its servants. All railway employees and the employees of local and public bodies and a few of the larger public companies give gratuities to their employees on retirement. But for industrial labour outside of Government industrial establishments pensions on retirement are almost non-existent. Some concerns, of course, do give small pensions to old or faithful workers but these are mostly *ex gratia* and cannot be claimed as of right. Thus we see that thousands of workers are not covered by any form of old age assistance; destitution and beggary is the inevitable lot of many of them, though it is not known how many beggars are recruited from this class. Their number must, indeed, be considerable.

Old age dependency is with us and has come to stay since it is largely a result of our industrial development. From what has already been said it must be clear that a grave social problem does exist and will probably remain as serious for many years to come unless we adopt a radical social policy as early as possible. Otherwise, the difficulties to be faced in old age will multiply with the increasing industrialization of India. This problem can be met by instituting old-age pensions for the aged poor by the State. The system should be

<sup>13</sup> Roseman, Alvin : "Old-Age Assistance" in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March 1939.

non-contributory and applicable to all wage-earners who are sixty and over. Old-age benefits should cover at least the bare minimum of physical needs, though one would prefer a slightly generous grant to enable the aged to live under more desirable conditions than were possible during their years of toil. It may be better to pay benefits in kind rather than in cash. Homes should also be provided under proper supervision for those who have no one to care for them. India is second to no other country in the world in her veneration for the aged. Yet thousands of old people in our country drag on a miserable existence uncared for and unprotected—poor old folk, “as full of grief as age, wretched in both.” If India’s charitable sentiments and resources, together with the State contributions, are harnessed, this major problem of old age dependency can be easily solved.

*Neglected and Dependent Mothers and Children.*—The problem of dependent mothers and children is not new. Here again the joint family system provides a more or less satisfactory degree of security as the burden of support usually is not intolerable if the families are large enough to distribute the load. Only in our urban areas where the shift is from an agricultural to an industrial society is the need to provide protection against the premature death of the family breadwinner has become much greater. It is not an easy task for the widowed mother of the working class to support her dependent children. To make matters worse, the burden of widowhood falls with blighting effect on the Indian woman who, more than any other woman in the world, is subjected to all kinds of social taboos. In most cases widows in India have to endure untold miseries as they are seldom trained for economic independence.

According to the 1931 Census, the total number of widows was 25,496,660. Now there must be a greater number as the population has increased much since then. This large number includes all sorts of widows—rich and poor, young and old, pretty and ugly, with children and without children, with jobs and without jobs. The rich widows and those who can remarry do not usually become social problems. Even where remarriage is permissible, the chances of an elderly widower to enter a new marriage are considerably better than those of a widow of the same age. Then again, a widower with children is more likely to want to marry again but a widow with children has a lesser chance to remarry whether she wants to or not. Then there are several orthodox communities where remarriage is not allowed for a widow. It is the group of widows without financial protection but with children which gives rise to a serious problem.

Turning for statistical information to the Census Report of 1931, we find that widows in the population per 1,000, leaving out widows below twenty, were 78 in the age group 20-30; 212 in the age group 30-40; 507 in the age group

40-60; 802 aged 60 and over. The last group naturally comes under old-age dependency. Widowhood between the ages of 30 and 50—the period when children are dependent—constitutes the real economic problem arising from the loss of the breadwinner, particularly of the wage-earning class. The economic problem of widowhood, therefore, assumes its most depressing form when complicated by not only low financial status but also the presence of minor children. The widowed mother must then either seek employment herself or send her children to work early in life, thus denying them the opportunities for development and growth. In either case the children suffer.

To support themselves and their little ones, widowed mothers take up work in factories, enter domestic service or become coolie women. Thus they are away for nine hours or more and return home at sunset where the burden of household duties await them. This means the strain of double employment; naturally after a heavy day's work, they have little energy or interest left to care for their little children or attend to household duties. During their absence from home, children are left to play on the streets, or to be cared for by old relatives or indifferent neighbours. Is it any wonder if the delinquency rate among children of wage-earning mothers is found to be high? If children are too young it is not uncommon for working mothers to administer opium to make them inactive during the day. An investigation undertaken by the Government of Bombay not long ago revealed the fact that 98% of the infants born to working women in Bombay had opium given to them. Thousands of widowed mothers are thus obliged to neglect their children in order to support them. In these and other ways the outside employment of widows with little children does have serious effects upon themselves and their children. Thus we have in the wage-earning widowed mother a dual responsibility, the social consequences of which are most undesirable and destructive.

Little children are the citizens of tomorrow and the mother renders a service to the State in properly caring for them. The natural home of the child is most important for its growth and development. Hence, the White House Conference declared: "Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. It is the great moulding force of mind and of character. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons. Children of reasonable, efficient and deserving mothers, who are without the support of the normal breadwinner, should, as a rule, be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of the children." Since most of our middle-aged widows possess no special skill, their earning capacity is limited. Hence, complete maintenance of such dependent families seems to be the only possible way of meeting the problem.

• This situation has given rise to what is known as "Mothers' Pension" movement. France, Germany, Denmark, New Zealand and America and some other countries have adopted the pension system. Many of the American States have provided for not only financial aid but service to the mother in helping her in using the aid properly and in solving the problems which arise in the bringing up of the children. Since dependency of mothers and children arises not only from widowhood but also from desertion, illegitimacy, divorce, imprisonment and the mental and physical incapacity of the fathers, such mothers are also given aid. In our country no such help is available. It is imperative to provide for mothers' pensions to prevent mothers with children of the working class drifting from partial support into beggary and pauperism.

The neglect of children is bad enough in the fatherless family where the mother has to work for their support but neglect becomes even greater when children are motherless, and widowed fathers grow irresponsible owing to outside interests. It is from such broken families that the vagrant, the derelict and the delinquent are largely recruited. Since the family is the cradle of humanity and the nursery of civilization, and the good mother its presiding deity, is it not the duty of the State to protect the mother from hazards and thus safeguard the family from catastrophe?

Maternal mortality deprives a large number of children of the mother's love and protection, and leaves them to shift for themselves when they are too young to do so. For lack of proper care and guidance, many children become under such circumstances dependent and delinquent. Therefore, among deaths from preventable causes, the most disastrous, as far as the child is concerned, is maternal mortality. Though accurate data are not available, it is estimated that about 25 mothers die to every 1,000 children born. In other words, since some 10 million babies were born in the year 1936, about 250,000 mothers, or a quarter of a million of the mothers, lost their lives in giving birth to them. And many more of those who survive child-birth are either weakened or maimed in some way. Furthermore, the number of deaths in themselves do not indicate the seriousness of the consequences to the family, particularly to the children. To them the mother's death or illness at this critical stage means dependency and neglect. According to the Report of the Public Health Commissioner, there were in 1937 some 99,000 deaths from cholera, a little over 54,000 deaths from small-pox and about 28,000 from plague. But maternal mortality is greater than deaths from any of these. In view of this fact does it not seem strange that our efforts to protect motherhood should be so insignificant compared to the sums spent on the campaign against cholera, small-pox and plague?

To prevent maternal and infant mortality and to give protection to

motherhood, several countries have introduced maternity insurance. But in India the need for such protection is much greater because of the universality of marriage, low wages, extreme poverty and the high rate of maternal mortality. Unfortunately even now there is no all-India legislation to give protection to working women in childbirth. This matter is still considered as a provincial subject. However, we have to be thankful that some of the provincial governments have passed legislation providing for maternity benefits. The first provincial legislative measure was the Bombay Maternity Act of 1929 and this was followed by the passing of a similar Act in the Central Provinces in 1930. In 1932 the Act was introduced in Ajmer-Merwara. The Bombay Act was amended in 1934 and a similar Act was passed in the Madras Presidency in 1934. The Maternity Act was brought into force in the Province of Delhi in 1937. In view of the pressing need and the appalling suffering and poverty of our working women, it is heart-rending to think that only five provinces in the whole of British India have Maternity Benefit Acts in force. We have, however, to be thankful that at least this much has been done in the way of a beginning.

In spite of these measures, a large number of women do not enjoy their benefits because of their ignorance and economic helplessness, and because of the unscrupulousness of some employers. We need therefore a vigilant public opinion to compel the provincial governments to enforce proper observance of these measures. It is encouraging to note that some organizations and industries have set up maternity benefits voluntarily. The Bombay Municipality, for example, started a maternity benefit scheme for its *halalkhore* and scavenging women in 1928. By this scheme the classes benefited are given leave on full pay for a period not exceeding 42 consecutive days. In Assam voluntary maternity benefit schemes have been adopted by almost every tea estate of repute. Planters in Madras decided early in 1939 to pay a bonus and bear charges in connection with the free feeding of the mother for periods of three weeks each before entry into and after leaving hospital. So also many of the jute mills have adopted a maternity benefit scheme.

The double purpose of Maternity Benefit is to provide the extra money needed for medical care at the time of child-birth and to continue the mother's income during the period of her enforced withdrawal from work. Since the general standard of living of the working class family is so low, the rates of maternal and infant mortality so high, the poverty of the people so great and the medical facilities so inadequate, there can be little doubt that some form of maternity benefit would be of great value to the health of the woman worker and her child at a most critical period in the lives of both. Now that the principle of maternity benefit has been accepted, every effort must be made to extend

it throughout India by legislation, and to encourage other employers who do not come under the law to adopt it voluntarily to meet both the needs of the working woman and the social purpose of protecting the life and health of both mother and child. If the extension of the system is accompanied by adequate public health service, it will, no doubt, contribute much towards the reduction of mortality of mothers and dependency and neglect of children.

*Problem of the Physically Handicapped.*—Though the extent of the problem of physically handicapped is not as great as of sickness, yet its seriousness is seen in the tendency of the crippled, the blind, the deaf and the dumb to take to begging because of our natural sympathy for them. It is not to be wondered, therefore, if a good part of the beggar population is made up of them. In most of the countries of the West the problem of dependency arising from infirmity and affliction is met by invalidity insurance. This is done in some twenty-one countries. In Great Britain, the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland, invalidity is covered by health insurance.

In our country there is great indifference with regard to this problem. No doubt the State provides a few institutions for the deaf-mutes of whom there are some 150,000 and for the blind of whom there are about 600,000 in our population. These are supplemented by a few private institutions. But the existing provisions are very meagre indeed. In the absence of any scheme to care for the thousands of physically handicapped, vagrancy and beggar legislation has been found to be practically useless to combat the issue. There is a great need, therefore, to devise a carefully thought-out relief system for caring for these unfortunates—the physically handicapped.

Reviewing the problem of India's pauperism and dependency we find that it is mainly due to the cultural stagnation and social drift of the people and the adoption of Western industrialism. Old institutions are broken and thrown into disuse without new ones being built on Indian thought and life. Western industrialism has come to us with its slums, low-incomes, accidents, occupational diseases, uncertainty of employment and superannuation. The decay of agricultural occupations, of home and subsidiary industries has further accentuated the problem of poverty and dependency. Decency, health, mutual aid, security have all been overwhelmed and lost in the whirlpool of competition. The family is splintered like glass on the rock of economic insufficiency. Irresponsibility and desertion are creating the criminal and the beggar. The legislators are inactive, paralyzed by the immensity of our social problems. In the meanwhile all these gathering sub-social currents are disturbing the placidity of Indian life.

Under these circumstances we can ill-afford to lag behind in providing social security for the less fortunate in our country. But we cannot stop there.



Social security is only a half-way house. We have to strike at the root cause of our social problems—the economic system. The present war has made it clear beyond a shadow of doubt that there is something radically wrong in our economic order. The same causes which bring about the unspeakable poverty and misery of the masses are also responsible for the large scale massacre of human beings and the irrecoverable destruction of poverty that is going on today. While our immediate task is to provide security for the poor against hazards, our main concern should be to bring about a new social order which will ensure not only the creation of wealth but even more its better distribution, thus eliminating poverty and ushering in peace and goodwill among men.

## BHAVIOUR DISORDERS AND THE BREAKDOWN OF THE ORTHODOX HINDU FAMILY SYSTEM

WILLIAM STEPHENS TAYLOR

By making a comparative study of the organization of the American family and that of the orthodox Hindu family, the author suggests that the latter facilitates the socialization of the child's egocentric attitudes to a much greater extent than the former. But as the permanency of their socialization depends on the persistence of the family system in which it is developed, its disruption—now being brought about by the impact of Western culture—may, he says, have serious consequences for behaviour. Since such subtle and serious sequences of familial disorganization are rarely perceived and studied, this diagnosis deserves special attention.

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THE main contention of this article is that the breakdown of the orthodox Hindu joint family system, which is taking place in rural as well as urban areas, is likely to encourage a great increase in behaviour disorders, and that it therefore creates a social problem of the first importance. Evidence to *prove* the truth of this contention can only be obtained from the records of juvenile courts and psychological clinics, of which we have as yet a very inadequate number in India. Until this evidence becomes available, we can *estimate* the effects of family disorganisation by a psychological analysis of the factors governing the growth of the individual within the orthodox Hindu family, and of the results which may be expected when these factors are altered. This article makes a first attempt to do this.

The argument is based on the thesis that the world of the new-born infant is primarily egocentric; that the process of normal development consists in socializing his world, i.e., identifying his egoistic desires with the welfare of a family first, and later of larger social groups; and that failure so to socialize his egoistic impulses produces tension and conflict, in the attempt to escape which the child regresses to earlier egocentric attitudes again, thus producing problem and neurotic behaviour.

How does the orthodox Hindu family system provide for such a socializing of egoistic impulses? What effect may its disruption be expected to have on this process? The most satisfactory way of approaching the problem is to point out a number of ways in which the orthodox Hindu family system differs from that found in other countries, e.g., Canada and the U. S., and to indicate some of the results likely to follow from these differences. In doing so it is necessary to generalize rather widely, and the conclusions drawn must therefore be treated as indicative of general trends only. Neither in America nor in Hindu India is there any absolute uniformity of family organization. In both there are differ-

ences between rural and urban families, between families in different economic or caste groups, etc. Nevertheless, the differences between the orthodox Hindu family organization and the American family organizations are greater than the differences between the sub-types in each, and justify comparisons between them.

One special difficulty arises from the fact that the orthodox Hindu family is predominantly rural, while the American family is largely urban. Differences between them may therefore be attributed to either of two major factors, neither of which can be controlled, i.e., to a cultural difference between orthodox Hinduism and American social traditions, or to a rural-urban difference functioning independent of the particular culture in which it happens to be found. For our purpose it is sufficient to note that the latter explanation is not by itself sufficient. Orthodox Hinduism tends to maximize the "rural" characteristics of family organization even in an urban setting; American society tends to maximize the "urban" characteristics of family organization even in a rural setting.

In dealing with Hindu families we are not concerned with the somewhat Westernized families now sometimes found in the larger cities, which range in character somewhere between the orthodox Hindu and American types. As we are concerned with the process of disruption in the orthodox type, producing these Westernized families, we begin with the orthodox family itself. What then are some of the major differences between the orthodox Hindu family organization and those of America, and some of the specific effects on personality development which these may be expected to show?

I. The orthodox Hindu family is a joint family. That is, living within the same house, sharing a common cooking arrangement, a common purse, or both, there are generally two or more married couples with their children, in immediate blood relationship to each other, vertically or laterally or both, through the male side. There is frequently a large household, sharing confined quarters, with little isolation for separate marital groups, or privacy for individuals. On points of particular importance, authority over all members of the household is vested in the oldest male member, although in practice it is frequently exercised in daily problems by others. In all the minor adjustments of day to day living, authority over the children is shared with considerable freedom among all the adults. The children of the various couples all share a common domain which is also shared by their parents, and the child of any one couple may be encouraged, disciplined, petted or abused by all adults, with considerable frequency. Within limits of precedence set by social customs based on authority and degree of blood relationship, there is in the orthodox Hindu joint family something approximating to a communal parent-child relationship.

This might be expected to affect the socialization of the child's ego in two chief ways:

• (i) The process of socialization will be, in a measure, depersonalized, as compared with the corresponding process in American families, in the sense that it will be directed less towards individual persons. In an American family, the child must generally learn to identify his interests with those of a very few other individuals, each of whom is clearly distinct in function and in personal character from each of the others. There is only one woman, one man, and generally a very limited number of children separated by considerable age differences. As a consequence, the American family facilitates identification with distinct individuals in terms of their readily distinguishable personal qualities. This also lends itself readily to acute personal fixations. And in the later stages of socialization it may be expected to facilitate transfer of loyalty to other individuals outside the family circle. In actual practice, however, the later stages of socialization in America are influenced as much by the educational system as by the family organization, and the educational system is communal where the family is not thus balancing or counteracting many of the family influences.

In the orthodox Hindu joint family, however, as compared with the American family, there is less concentration on distinct individuals; the process of identification tends to be diffused more widely over a group of similar individuals, bound together in a closely defined social group. The child is treated in a somewhat similar way by several adults, to whom he learns to respond in similar ways. And he is likely to have as companions several children having little difference in their ages instead of a very few showing decided differences. The process of identification is, therefore, to a much greater extent than under American family influences, with a group rather than with individuals. In the orthodox Hindu community, moreover, apart from the introduction of western educational methods, education has been largely within the family circle, and so has not greatly modified the family influences, so that the child learns to identify his interests primarily with the group rather than with individuals.

• (ii) In the orthodox Hindu family, the process of identification is thus conditioned by a specific type of social organization to a much greater extent than in the American family, and its permanency depends on the continuance of this organization. Being identified with a particular social group, the socialization by which the individual transcends his egocentric universe is in danger of coming to an end if that social group is destroyed or disorganized. While it is theoretically possible that this identification may be transferred to another social group, it is in actual fact difficult to find other social groups sufficiently like the original Hindu family to make transfer possible without a dangerous increase of mental tension and insecurity. The orthodox Hindu family organization has many features which can with difficulty be duplicated,

and it is in fact giving way to a type of social organization which is almost antithetical to it rather than similar to it. With the breakdown of the orthodox Hindu family system, therefore, the social identification of the individual is likely either to be largely destroyed with a consequent regression to earlier egocentric attitudes, or to be transferred to a substitute social group differing widely from the first with a consequent increase of mental tension; and both alternatives are likely to produce an increase of abnormal behaviour.

II. The orthodox Hindu joint family tends, on the whole, as compared with the American family, to introduce fewer regulations regarding conduct which erect barriers between children and adults. Thus the characteristics which facilitate the child's identification with his family group greatly outweigh those which inhibit it. Identification tends to occur easily with a minimum of struggle and self-discipline. The difference between Hindu and American family groups in this respect can be seen in two points:

(i) In the orthodox Hindu joint family, the child shares with its parents in adult activities. From an early age it helps to draw water, to clean or leepo the house, to mind smaller children, or to tend cattle. While still too young to walk, it is taken by its parents to the scene of their labour. And from then until the time it is mature, it shares in an increasing measure in adult occupations. This constant sharing with adults in basic occupations facilitates the child's identification with the family group. In most American families, on the other hand, the child's activities are different from the basic activities of its parents. The father normally goes from home to the work by which he supports the family, and leaves it behind when he comes home again. Much of the mother's work in the home is done by instruments which the child is constantly warned not to touch. This difference in occupation between child and parent in American society tends to make the child's identification with its family group more difficult rather than less.

(ii) In the orthodox Hindu joint family, many of the major social taboos to which the child is subject are taboos which it shares with adults, i.e., taboos which are imposed by society on child and adult together rather than by the adults on the child only. There are taboos governing relations with other castes, taboos governing times and methods of eating, type of food, etc. While there are taboos governing adults which do not apply to children, there are relatively few which apply to children only and not to adults. This sharing of taboos helps to facilitate the child's identification with the family group, and to prevent a sense of isolation from the group. In American family groups, on the other hand, there is a tendency for many of the major taboos to be imposed by the adult members of the group on the children, and not shared together. The constant injunction is: "You mustn't do that; when you're a man you can do it".

This tends to make socialization more difficult rather than less.

III. Neither the orthodox Hindu family nor the orthodox Hindu society in which it functions make such heavy demands on a developing child as do their American counterparts. The underdeveloped, or slightly subnormal, child is not handicapped so much in the Hindu society by demands which are too great for it. And, consequently, deviations from the normal are not so likely to produce acutely abnormal personality types. This can be illustrated by several points:

(i) The orthodox Hindu social organization was based on the principle of a guaranteed minimum for all, rather than a possible maximum for some. It was based on a definite levelling down, both of the standard of service demanded and of the standard of the reward given, to a level low enough to make possible the inclusion in a normal way of even those who were subnormal. The danger of a deadeningly uniform low level was offset by the existence of rigid caste distinctions, each of which was characterized by a different level of service and reward, though within each caste the level for that caste was adjusted to include the most backward members. Economically, the Hindu social system was designed to secure a guaranteed minimum subsistence for all rather than a possible maximum for some. Religiously, it made spiritual progress, for the vast majority of its people, depend on the performance of sets of overt actions whose significance need not be understood, and which could be learned as habits, so that even the mentally abnormal could learn to perform them adequately. This did not prevent many individuals from finding in these acts deep mystical significance. The mystical accompaniment was permitted, but was not necessary. Socially, the orthodox Hindu system was so designed as to make it possible for even those supposed to be mentally deficient (the outcastes) to make a contribution to social welfare instead of becoming a burden upon the State. In all these ways it was a system designed to minimize the severity of the demands made on the individual in the process of social adjustment, and so to maximize the possibility of an adequate social identification, even for the less gifted.

(ii) It did this also by developing a different standard of normality from that found in America. In America, to be normal, one requires approximately average intelligence, and a fairly well integrated personality. A child, to be normal, must possess the former and develop the latter. But if the former is not possessed by a child, it cannot be developed, and the latter is developed through struggle and discipline which all children cannot stand. But in the orthodox Hindu society, the standard of normality is given more by overt behaviour than by intellect and personality. These overt forms of behaviour can be learned as habits even by those who are intellectually subnormal, or who lack personal integration. An intellectually supernormal, and an intellectually subnormal man may both be normal members of an orthodox

Hindu society if they both perform with equal diligence the social duties required of them. Except for extreme variations, differences of personality and intelligence, are largely irrelevant to the orthodox Hindu standard of normality. That is one reason why the orthodox Hindu will normally tolerate extreme variations of thought and temperament, as in students infected with Western ideas, but is aroused to bitter antagonism when a standardized form of behaviour is challenged, e.g., marriage customs or caste relations. Since the normal standard is primarily one of behaviour, there are very few children who cannot ultimately achieve it, whatever their native intellectual endowment. There are consequently few children who are socially stigmatized as abnormal and whom the weight of social condemnation drives into abnormal forms of behaviour.

(iii) In the third place, the standards of normality in orthodox Hinduism being standards of overt behaviour, are capable of explicit formulation in terms that all can understand, and which are universally accepted as valid within the Hindu society. There are certain ceremonies which the normal Hindu must perform. There are certain relations to members of other castes which the normal Hindu must practise. There are certain rules governing marriage, for instance, which the normal Hindu must observe. These can all be codified in terms which allow of no misunderstanding. This is an important point, for ambiguity and misunderstanding produce tension and conflict, and these in turn give rise to abnormal forms of behaviour. The Hindu system is designed to prevent misunderstanding about what society requires of the individual, and so to minimize the likelihood of abnormal behaviour from this cause. In the same way, by preventing false expectations, it tends to minimize the possibility of frustration and shock. The standards of normality in America, on the other hand, are not capable of exact formulation in terms which will be universally accepted within the society, and thus lend themselves to frequent misunderstandings, permit disappointment and shock, and are generally more likely to produce tension and conflict during the period of socialization than are the Hindu standards. As a consequence, socialization is an easier process in Hindu society than in American society.

(iv) Finally, Hindu society, by emphasizing the minimum for all rather than the maximum for some, and by inculcating a spirit of resignation as a supreme virtue, tends to minimize the importance of personal ambition, and to lessen the expectancy of purely personal advantage. The more competitive and more individualistic American society tends to maximize the importance of personal ambition, and to increase the expectancy of personal advantage. These act as supports for the egocentric attitude with which the child comes into the world, and which it must largely outgrow if a normal

socialization of the ego is to take place. The American emphasis is likely to make the process more difficult; the Hindu emphasis, as compared with the American, tends to facilitate socialization, so long as the social organization remains stable.

To sum up, the points we have considered all suggest that the orthodox Hindu family organization facilitates the socialization of the child's egocentric attitudes to a much greater extent than do the more individualistic types of family organization generally found in, for instance, America. In doing this, it promotes the identification of early egocentric attitudes with a social group rather than with other individuals, more particularly with a social group whose organization has been stabilized primarily in terms of codes of overt behaviour rather than types of personality, and whose members are basically interrelated in relatively non-personal ways. In order to achieve such a high degree of socialization, it makes the permanency of this socialization depend on the persistence of the social system in which it is developed. Disruption of the social system, and more particularly of the family system, may therefore be expected to have serious consequences for behaviour.

In his development the child has got to adjust his egocentric attitudes to a social reality which is frequently unpleasant. But there are some children who are pampered and protected from contact with an unpleasant social reality. They socialize their ego impulses readily within the somewhat isolated and unreal world in which they live. But when this isolation breaks down, and they are required to face the harsh realities from which they have been protected, they have no defences built up, and regress rather disastrously to earlier egocentric attitudes. The social self which they have built up "breaks up". They form very serious problems. The orthodox Hindu family and the orthodox Hindu social system protect the child in a somewhat similar way by the various means that we have noted. They enable it to socialize its ego impulses in a supporting society which is relatively free from harsh and unpleasant hindrances to the process. They do this, not temporarily, for part of the child's life, but for the whole of its life. They do this by creating a social system in which harsh and unpleasant hindrances to socialization are minimized, so that occasions of acute loneliness and frustration rarely exist. They do it by turning what in American society would be an isolated and unreal condition of social protection into a normal and permanent social environment. But it is normal and permanent only so long as the orthodox Hindu family system and the orthodox Hindu social organization persist unchanged. Once these become disorganized, as they are rapidly becoming disorganized in India at present, the Hindu orthodox family system becomes an isolated feature of the general social scene, and



the protection which it affords becomes as unnatural as similar protection in American society. The child who has been brought up in the orthodox Hindu family system is then in a position analogous to that of the pampered or protected child, and is in danger similarly of regressing to earlier egocentric attitudes and developing serious behaviour problems.

Dare one risk an estimate of what forms this problem behaviour may take? The considerations we have noted in this article seem to suggest that problem behaviour of three types may be expected; and an examination of the contemporary social scene may provide evidence to support conclusions arrived at in this theoretic way.

(i) When the orthodox Hindu family organization, with which he has been taught to identify his interests, begins to disintegrate, the Hindu child may try to transfer his allegiance to some other social group, having some association, however casual, with the group from which he is being set loose. If there is no great similarity between them, as there is not likely to be, the loyalty will be held with considerable tension and mental conflict. The transfer of loyalty is likely to take place under the compulsion of an acute sense of insecurity, the degree of the child's previous identification with his orthodox family group being the measure of his subsequent insecurity. One may therefore expect this identification with new social groups to be compulsive and frequently quite irrational, developing strong feelings without any clear recognition of the purpose which the new loyalty is designed to serve, and unamenable to rational guidance or restraint. This may produce serious difficulties in social and political life.

(ii) Where the break up of the orthodox Hindu family system produces simple regression to earlier egocentric attitudes without adequate transfer of loyalty to a new social group, it may be expected to increase the frequency of those behaviour disorders which arise from unregulated egocentric impulses—actions designed to compel attention from others, such as truculence, delinquencies, etc.; actions designed to win admiration from oneself, such as acute introspection, narcissism, etc.; and various forms of compulsive activity.

(iii) Alternatively it may produce an increase in specific neuroses.

It is not within the province of this article to suggest means that may be adopted to meet these dangers. That must be done by educationists and social workers awake to the nature of the problem. It is enough if this study has suggested, by an analysis of influences moulding the development of the child in the orthodox Hindu joint family, some of the problems presented by the disruption of this family system as it is taking place today.

## THE SANTALS IN A CHANGING CIVILIZATION

CHARULAL MUKHERJEA

While the process of civilizing the primitives is desirable in itself, the task of doing it is instinct with immense and intricate difficulties. On the basis of his research studies of the reactions of Santals to the new culture contacts, Mr. Mukherjea points out that many salutary changes are visible in the status of the Santal woman as well as in their religious and social customs. But this new culture transformation is also destroying some of their virile traditions and habits. Hence, the author suggests cautious procedure in reforming them.

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**N**OTHING has impressed itself with so much force on my mind during the course of my studies on the Santals, off and on, for the last twelve years as the effect of the infiltration of modern ideas into the primitive social-fabric of the tribe. As I intend to discuss here the various problems which the impact of civilisation has produced on the Santals, a brief ethnological note may be useful to those who are unacquainted with this tribe.

The Santals, a pre-Dravidian tribe, numbering 2,508,789 according to the Census of 1931, rank as the second aboriginal group so far as population is concerned. Their habitat lies roughly between 20° and 28° North Latitude and 83° and 92° East Longitude. The topography of the portions of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa falling within our purview will reveal large areas of rock, laterite and gravel bearing clusters of *Shorea robusta*, *Bassia latifolia*, *Adina Cordifolia*, *Ficus religiosus*, *Butea frondosa* and others and extensive forests containing tigers, elephants, Sambar deer, leopards and deer. Distributed throughout this wide area lives the Santal, a man of medium size but muscular and strong, possessing, as Col. Dalton says, "a blubbery style of face" and his ox-eyed merry women folk. The term 'Santal' is sometimes very loosely applied by the common-folk to other Pre-Dravidian tribes like the Mundas, Hos, Beer-hors and others. It should be remembered that the Santal calls himself "manjhi" (the honorific title of the village Headman) or "Kherwal". They are divided into twelve clans and their religion may be better described as Spiritism (the term used by late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy) rather than as Animism.

The foregoing observations will serve the purposes of an introduction to our discussion on the various new forces that have worked on the primitive social frame-work of the Santal and the new mentality that has developed in the tribe as the result of education, conscious and unconscious. Although, speaking statistically, literacy figures do not make encouraging reading, it cannot be overlooked that culture contacts with the non-Santal population,

has produced a good deal of "looking before and after" and a ferment; hence a prelude to a new cultural adjustment is very much visible.

A note on the social environment of the Santals here will give the reader the background necessary for a better appreciation of the problem. There was undoubtedly a time when the tribe gradually receded into the backwoods with the approach of modern civilisation. But that time is no more. The Santals now live side by side with the general population, of what has been termed by the late Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, the Central Belt of India, and although Santal hamlets are separate affairs, they cannot be said to be culturally cut off from the rest of the people. The most potent of the outside influence is the Christian Missionary. These missions are scattered throughout the Santal areas. They educate the Santal in rudiments of modern knowledge, treat him when ill in hospitals of their own, and even look after the lepers in leper colonies. Whatever the object of these missions may be, it cannot be denied that through these media modern ideas percolate through the Santal masses and result in a changed angle of vision in the tribe.

Secondly, in places like Rajmahal and Dinajpur, the Hindu Mission tries to 'reclaim' the aboriginal to the Hindu fold, acting on the theory that the Santals are already Hindus, as they follow a religion of Hindustan. The religious workers of these institutions, try to infuse into the Santal ideals of clean living, eating pure food and thus win them back to the worship of Hindu gods and goddesses. This is not altogether a new thing. We have historical evidence to say that there was, in 1871, a movement in the Santal Parganas, known as the Kharwar movement, when some Santals declared themselves as *Safa-hor* (the pure men) after eschewing fowls, pigs and intoxicating liquor but taking *ganja* (hemp, *Cannabis Sativa*) and tried to bring their social customs on a level with Hindu practices. It led at that time to some local ferment and had also a political aspect. (Ref. Dt. Gazetteer of Santal Parganas, 1910, page 145). The result of all these is noticed in the fact that 586,499 Santals returned themselves as Hindus in Bihar and Orissa in the Census of 1931 and in the State of Mayurbhanj, they numbered 254,596 out of a total of 258,195 Santals (Census of 1931).

Added to these, it must be remembered that the Santals do not live in water-tight compartments of their own. The Hindu Kamar makes implements for them. The *Tantis* weave their clothes and this culture contact saturates the Santal society with modern ideas.

*Language.*—The first striking point is that the Roman script is used in writing Santali, a language belonging to the Munda family of languages, which in its turn is a branch of what Peter Schmidt terms as the Austro-Asiatic sub-family. It may be mentioned perhaps that it is not a written language,

and Santal traditions are orally handed down. The question of a Santal script engaged the attention of the early European missionaries and they used the Roman script. So it is that we have now got some Santali literature due to the efforts of the Christian missionaries and the education imparted to the Santals in the Santal Parganas has been through this medium. Side by side with this, the Bengali script has been used by some Santals in their publications and by the Hindu Mission, Rajmahal, in their Santali literature. In the Mayurbhanj State, I noticed Santali being written in the Oriya script. While Roman, Bengali and Oriya are now trying to exert themselves as far as possible, Mr. Raghu Nath Manjhi, a Santal teacher of Rairangpur Mayurbhanj, has invented a new script for Santali. This was shown to me by its author, and the evidence at my disposal goes to show that a section at least of educated Santal opinion advocates its acceptance. Like all pioneers, Mr. Manjhi has a rare courage of conviction. His friends have taken up the cause and educated Santals of Mayurbhanj and the neighbouring areas are now using the script in their correspondence.

Mr. Raghu Nath Manjhi's efforts deserve more than a passing notice, for, it brings us to the new thought-currents in the present day Santals. They have a language and want to have a script of their own. A language without a script of its own, according to this section of Santal educated opinion, lacks dignity. In vain one pines for the Roman script to unify the interminable jargon of Indian scripts. One tries to draw a parallel from the New Turkey favouring Roman script, and tries to argue on the basis of the unity of the Mundari languages on the basis of the existing Roman, while the educated Santal at Mayurbhanj coolly masters the new script with a new pride. The urge for self-determination in the choice of scripts gives the on-looker mixed feelings of admiration and confusion. But it is a sign of the times.

*Religion.*—Santal religion presents the next problem. With efforts all round to 'redeem' the 'heathen', there was a time when the advanced Indian religions felt the shock of disruption. No wonder that the aboriginals mixed up education and economic and social advance with Christianity and took to it in large numbers. Thus in the Census of 1931, Santals numbering 13,279 were shown as Christians out of a total of 586,499 Santals in Bihar and Orissa. Due mostly to the activities of Christian missionaries, Bihar and Orissa reported 8,899 literates out of a total population of 1,304,034 Santals over seven years of age (1931). Except in the State of Mayurbhanj, the educated Santals (properly so called) are mostly Christians. If we recall the first fruits of English education in Bengal during the time of Michael Madhusudan Dutt, the new ideas giving rise to new conceptions of God and religion with Ram Mohan Roy and Keshab Chandra Sen and the general ideological revolution in

the thoughts and ideas of the nineteenth century Bengal, it will not be difficult to understand why some educated Santals, even though they are not Christians, are dissatisfied with their religion.

Here some points on Santal religion may prove useful. There was a time when they were called Animists and the scholars who termed them so had their own reasons. The Santal peoples his world with numberless spirits, mostly mischievous. There are spirits in the hills, the household has its own, the village has its presiding deity and so on and so forth. The question now naturally arises if the religious practices of the Santals are not some form of an active worship of some deities and lesser spirits, together with a vague belief in souls and a future existence connoted by the term Animism. One is puzzled to think, as Sir Herbert Risley was, as to what is the exact idea of the Santal when he thinks of the spirits, say of the hills. Whatever may be the answer, it should not be forgotten that the conception of an abstract power in itself independent of a material vehicle is difficult for the aboriginal mind. Thus to the Santal, Thakur Jiu (Supreme deity) is not an abstract conception but a real entity, with feelings and desires akin to those of man. For his Ancestor Spirits in particular, the Santal exhibits filial devotion which may be likened to the Hindu worship of the *Pitris*. That is a religion not simply of undiluted fear in the presence of the mysterious powers of the dark. There are indications of a moral order of things and emotion, and thrill play a conspicuous part in the religious practices of the Santals.

But these are features hardly noticed by the educated Santal; he is either apt to look upon his religion as a lower form of Hinduism or as something the missionaries called 'heathenism'. These are the immediate results of Western education and were seen prominently in the nineteenth century India, specially Bengal, till the advent of Raja Ram Mohan and the new interpretation of Hinduism and other Indian religions by Vivekananda. So I was not surprised, in the course of my travels in the State of Mayurbhanji, when I was asked by an educated Santal, "Do please tell us if we have any religion at all." Such a query shows the influence of advanced ideas on the Santal thought-world. Educated non-Christian Santals now speak in terms of Hindu ideas, mention God (*Ekamebadyitiam*) in their speech, and are no longer content to live under the protecting wings of their mostly malevolent tribal deities. This explains the mass conversions to Christianity or satisfaction at being counted and declared as Hindus in census reports.

The earlier ethnologists have invariably called the Santal a jolly good fellow who seems to carry out to the logical conclusion the principle, "eat, drink and be merry, and care not for the morrow". Evidences of such an epicurean philosophy may even now strike an observant eye during a good har-

vest or on the eve of one of their tribal festivals. But at the present moment it is distinctly noticeable that increasing association with the out-side world has checked the spontaneous overflow of the fullness of their heart. Such a difference struck us at Mayurbhanj, where the Santals live mixed up with the general population. They now seem to have acquired the consciousness that they were so long living in a fool's paradise of songs and dances, whereas, life on the earth is after all a grim struggle and has meaning deeper than their religious practices can hope to measure or fathom.

This discontent is an indication of a future readjustment. If the Santal pines for a script, it only means that thinkers and philosophers in the tribe are in the making. And we look forward to a day when a Santal reformer will give a new interpretation to Santal ideology and religion, and give the advanced section the spiritual food they hanker after. That will give the tribe self-respect to stand before New India.

*Position of Women.*—The position at present enjoyed by Santal women in their tribal polity provides an interesting study inasmuch as it reveals how their rights are slowly, and sometimes indirectly, being recognised by a conservative society. The myths and legends of the Santal associate witchery with the female sex. In the very dawn of creation, it is narrated men saw that they had to deal with wives who, however useful, proved too wily for them. So they went to the Chief Presiding Deity and requested Him to teach them how to subjugate women. The God agreed. But when He gave men the lesson in witchcraft, He discovered to His embarrassment that He had taught women who had come disguised to 'steal' the art. To counterbalance it, the angry deity taught men the art of discovering witches among men. Santal folk-lore is full of stories depicting the life-long struggle of men with women whose only vocation is to exercise continuous spell over men in the garb of wives, sisters or mothers. Even now, almost all murders, committed by the Santal, result from the belief in witchcraft. It is not surprising, therefore, that their customary law should proceed from the assumption that women are potential witches and, as necessary chattels, they should be bought for matrimony and progeny. Another factor that contributed to this position was the perpetually migrating, semi-hunting life of the early Santals in India before they took up the position of settled agriculturists. But when they became tenants, in the real sense of the term, possessing properties, the question of providing for children, who were sometimes female ones, took a different aspect to the Santals tied down as they were by the hide-bound rigidity of social customs. The various denials of rights, especially to the Santal woman, have remained to this day. She has no right to property as such recognised for her; she has no right to sit in the tribal assemblies although her evidence is admissible there. In one word,

she belongs in her minority to her father as a chattel, she is bought as such by her husband, and when her coverture ceases on her husband's death, she reverts to her original owners. But if her father is dead and none of her relatives kindly takes charge of her, she drifts as a piece of *res nullius*. It is now clear that having converted the Santal woman into property, the tribal customs could not logically endow her with any rights to hold property.

But the influence of modern times has softened the rigid old Santal tribal jurisprudence. One can notice change with regard to the ownership of personal properties. Women can now own money, cattle and goods, and this is a completed legal right of usufruct and disposal. When property is divided, a loving father is seen to bestow on his daughter some heads of cattle or some money to be her property. Her ornaments are her own. She has full powers of disposal over them. A woman divorced without fault now gets a cow, some paddy and utensils. The paddy, which a Santal girl reaps during the December harvest, becomes her personal property, and she has powers of disposal also over the money she gets, should she sell it. The money earned otherwise by a Santal woman, in excess of providing for her food, is also her own now according to tribal customs.

In the domain of immovable properties, the position is far different. As the woman has no social or religious duties to perform, the tribe recognises no rights of inheritance for her. But human ingenuity has all over the world defeated the law by the creation of legal fictions. And our aboriginal tribal customs can be made to illustrate how fond fathers have provided for their daughters and children indirectly by settling lands for their benefit. It is done thus: the daughter is married to a "ghardi janwane" (a domesticated son-in-law, if such a translation is permissible). He is not required to pay for his bride in cash. He serves on his term, say for five years, at the house of his father-in-law and is free to leave at the end of the term. Although marriage gives him the *prima facie* status of a son of the family, in the eye of Santal customary law he is entitled to nothing but his wife. He merely transmits the inheritance to the children of the marriage. The mere fact of the marriage does not endow him with any right to property. If the house-holder, who 'domesticates' such a husband for his daughter intends that he (the husband) should inherit, a public declaration during the marriage investing him with the right, is legally necessary. Otherwise, it is the daughter who is the *de facto* owner of the inheritance and should the "ghardi janwane" leave his father-in-law's protection, his rights in his father-in-law's lands vanish forever. His relatives have no rights to the inheritance; the children of the marriage are the only beneficiaries. But if the wife dies during her husband's life-time, tribal customs recognise a life-interest for such a son-in-law.

Thus we see how Santal women are being indirectly benefited in the face of the hard customary laws.<sup>1</sup>

The influence of civilisation has made itself felt on the Santal social fabric in other ways too. Settlement courts have on many occasions recorded daughters as *raiya*s in agricultural lands and provided them with a life-tenure. Reformist Santals are trying their best to remove the legal disabilities of their women, specially widows. According to customary law, she is not entitled to any land, although she may own personal property. If children do not look after their widowed mother, she has no rights recognised for her. And if she has no children, she is thrown to the charity of the members of her husband's family. Educated Santal opinion now wants that the widow should have her rights of maintenance out of her late husband's properties till she remarries. The whole question came up before the Santal Parganas Enquiry Committee whose Report was published in 1938. The Committee, while discussing "Transfer by Gift or Will", observes that there has been for many years a slow trend towards a change in the law which would give Santal women a recognised position. However, there is no unanimity among the Santals with regard to this matter. The Committee examined a number of witnesses on the point, among others, the President of the Santal Malko Sabha. But even this body which represents more advanced opinion, was not in favour of permitting a Santal to transfer by will anything except his self-acquired property; and the President admitted that this change would have little practical effect, since the laws against alienation practically limit self-acquired property to such land as the *raiya*t has himself reclaimed. Taking into consideration all these, the Committee did not think that a change ought to be enforced by legislation and hoped that the customary law would develop 'naturally and gradually'. Finally, they recommended that civil cases, involving Santal law of inheritance, should, wherever possible, be referred to for arbitration to facilitate the growth of a convention. These facts at least show clearly, the tendencies of the times and the inroads of civilisation into the tribal customs to suit modern conditions in the Santal Parganas.

The status enjoyed by Santal women in the State of Mayurbhanj is, however, a far different one due to the application of the Mitakshara branch of Hindu law as regards the disposal of properties of the Santals. Thus, should a householder die without leaving any male issues, the daughter will succeed in preference to all agnates and the widow inherits her husband's share, in case the only claimants be the separated brothers of her husband. The widowed mother has her rights of maintenance recognised at the hands of her sons. The son-less widow becomes the sole owner of her husband's property,

<sup>1</sup> With acknowledgements to Rev. P.O. Boddington.



but like the Mitakshara widow, cannot alienate without legal necessity. ' .

The Santals of Mayurbhanj do not resort to the tribal personal law and the improvement in the position of their women in the eye of the law is solely due to the wholesale application of the Hindu law of the Mitakshara school. This is possible because the Santals of the State are mostly Hindus and have, although maintaining their tribal customs, declared themselves as such before the Census authorities.

*Social Customs.*—It is not difficult for the social anthropologist to understand the reasons and the correct implications of many Santal social customs and look sympathetically upon such institutions, based as they are upon the special culture and tradition of the pre-Dravidians. But the modern social worker is apt to view them in a far different light, calling for urgent and immediate reforms. The first point that strikes our attention in this connection is the problem of murders arising from a belief in witchcraft. That "there are more things in heaven and earth" than is dreamt of in one's philosophy is the conclusion of puzzled humanity at large; if the orthodox witch-finder, the Santal Jan-guru, tackles supernormal phenomena by magical practices and by spirit communication attains curative results for the benefit of the tribe, it has a definite social meaning. But the position calls for a remedy, when the criminal courts reveal that whenever the witch-doctor pronounces someone a witch exercising a malevolent influence on a patient, the result is a murder or at least an attempt at removing the witch in disguise of a woman, generally a near relative. To a detached observer, witchcraft murders call for more than a passing notice and perhaps for cautious legislation to reform existing conditions. Whatever the Santal belief on the subject may be, such ignorant murders do not stand a moment's scrutiny of one who has the welfare of the tribe in his mind. Educated Santals feel strongly on the point. But apart from arousing public opinion, the co-operation of the State is extremely necessary in dealing with so delicate and dangerous a problem, linked as it is with the basic ideas of their society. .

A second custom baffles the executive officers of the Santal Paraganas with its disturbing repercussions on public peace. The institution is known as *Bitlaha* or social purification of those who break the Santal marriage laws. The tribe enjoins certain methods of purification for such offenders which assume the form of an ostracism. When this is carried out, huge crowds of Santals gather together, singing lampoons, dancing with war-drums and others brandishing logs of half-burnt wood and broomsticks, and make the lives of the accused unendurable. Sometimes infuriated mobs commit excesses requiring police intervention. Whatever the original institution may be, no educated Santal now thinks that assault, intimidation, trespass and defama-

tion should be indulged in any more, and no wonder that a propaganda has been set on foot to impress upon the Santals of the Santal Paraganas that they are perfectly within their rights to non-cooperate with such social offenders, but the *assemblage en masse* and the associated primitive practices punishable under the Indian Penal Code can be reasonably given up.

Another strange belief is that whenever any foreigner is seen loitering in any Santal village, he is sometimes taken to be a kidnapper of children (*Ondga*) who would offer their blood as propitiatory offering to blood-thirsty deities. Instances are not rare when innocent persons have under such impressions been stoned to death by infuriated Santal villagers. It is always the innocent who thus suffer. Some time past the Hor Malto Maran Sabha of the Santals requested its brethren to disabuse their minds of such unfounded suspicions of foreigners. Apart from these, some minor customs, like the practice of some Santals deserting their wives when they become incapacitated, either through illness or infirmities, and that of requiring in Santal marriages that even the dead and deserted members of the bride's family should be counted for the purposes of the bride-price (*gonong*), have been considered as oppressive by the advanced Santals under modern conditions.

The above account gives one some idea of the problems the social worker meets with in dealing with the Santal. One wishes that the Santal would, with increasing enlightenment, take stock of his social life and devise measures for his betterment. The objective scientist may enable the Santals to rise to a higher cultural level so that they may take their place in the commonwealth of mankind. The tribe has its own set of values and its own ideas should not be rudely disturbed. But educated Santals should be helped to ponder over these problems. It was no surprise to us therefore when a manifesto, calling upon the Santals of Midnapore, Bankura, Manbhum and Singbhum to engage in social reforms, was signed some time back by the prominent educated Santals of Bengal and some parts of Bihar. It stated that for the maintenance of their tribal honour, the Santals had firmly resolved that :

1. No Santal, man or woman, should drink *pochoi* ( rice-beer ) in shops as the tribe had been ruined by drink while the grog-shop owners and mahajans were becoming rich. Temperance would help the Santals financially.

2. Carrion should not be eaten. The signatories refer to this custom with feelings of shame.

3. Santals should not dance or sing anywhere except in their own houses or villages. The manifesto reminds the tribe that the Europeans, Hindusthanis, the eastern hill-tribes sing and dance, but they avoid the hill-sides and public places. The ancient Santals had no public dancing.

4. Force should not be resorted to without proper reason as it

slackens the marriage-tie and gives rise to various vices.

5. Santals should wear coarse cloth and their women should give up wearing glass-bangles. A note on this point advocates cottage industries and dissuades the people from using mill-made articles.

During my last visit to Mayurbhanj, I found the air thick with these ideas. How successful they were in stopping the drink habit I do not know, but there was a noticeable tendency on the part of the Santals to give up dancing and singing in public. And the effect of the propaganda on the other points was also felt. It is, however, difficult but interesting to comment on these reformist moves. One thing is remarkable on the surface. The tribe is fast losing its *joie de vivre*. We have fully conceded the right of the educated Santal to remedy existing conditions. But they should remember that rice-beer is a food and stimulant to millions of underfed Santals. Dancing and singing in public have been going on for a long time and a sudden reversal to the standards of the neighbouring civilised races, may bring in a morbid condition of the mind by stopping the spontaneous overflow of the tribal joy for which the Santals were envied by the so-called civilised races.

But what has the reformist Santal done? He saw that there were abuses and his plausible answer was to reform the tribe by increasing education and enlightenment. This seems to be the easy solution of the missionaries working to improve the mind and the soul of these primitive tribes. So the air is full of ideas of reform, and many are the bold spirits who with zeal and earnestness are seeking to raise the level of the Santals to that of the civilised races of India. But a word of caution is necessary to the reformist. Here is a class of people who are simple and credulous. They flourish well in their native seats and in the cradle of their own institutions. Disturb them forcibly, and they become suspicious and angry; or if they submit to it, they do so at the cost of their original vitality and source of inner joy.

So legislation dealing with aboriginal customs has been considered as tantamount to inviting rebellion. And a plea for extreme caution while launching reforms for the aboriginal has been advanced by Dr. Rivers, the late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, Dr. Hutton and many other eminent anthropologists. Civilisation, they say, is a questionable blessing to the aboriginal. It carries, paradoxically enough, the germs of its own destruction so far as the aboriginals are concerned. So we find that Dr. Rivers refers with regret to the depopulation of the native tribes of Oceania as they could not withstand the diseases of civilisation and adjust themselves to the social and economic changes that came in its train. In a quite similar strain, Dr. Hutton has raised his voice of warning against moves to stop head-hunting amongst the Nagas. He fears that the forcible suppression of the custom may ultimately

lead to the total extinction of the tribe as happened to the Dayaks of Indonesia.

That there is a good deal of truth behind this opinion cannot be doubted for a moment. What is best for the tribes must be left to time, their choice and to the natural laws of absorption. The capacity, however, of taking kindly to factors of civilisation vary greatly with different tribes. But the Santal has one special feature in him that he has learnt to adjust himself to the varied influences of civilisation and has continued to be one of the most prolific of tribes so far as population is concerned. The modern times are hard; they produce a deterrent effect on witchcraft by inflicting capital punishment on all murderers. Human sacrifice to deities is not tolerated by the State and meets with swift modern justice. Santal personal law supplanted by the Mitakshara in Mayurbhanj merely unifies the castes and tribes culturally. All these have not produced a noticeably adverse effect. These are results of a slow and gradual absorption of new forces. But when everything has been said, the note of caution uttered by Dr. Rivers and Hutton should be borne in mind by all reformers engaged in social work amongst the Santals and other aboriginal tribes since it will serve as a timely brake against hasty measures of reforms.

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## TATA SCHOOL NEWS

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CERTAIN steps have been taken this year to increase the usefulness of our Institution. These are reflected in the new appointments enumerated below. With the resignation of Dr. (Miss) Cama from the staff to become the Presidency Magistrate of the Bombay Juvenile Court and the much lamented death of Dr. Titus, the School was somewhat handicapped during the second term of the last academic year. The hearty cooperation of the other members of the Faculty made it possible to carry the work through to the end of the term without any serious dislocation. In May last the Trustees appointed, on the recommendation of the Director, four new members to the staff and they are :

*Dr. Kewal Motwani, A.M., Ph.D.*—After taking his B.A. degree from the Indian National University, Dr. Motwani served on the staff of the Sind National College for some years and then joined the Gujarat Vidyapith. In 1928 he went to the United States for postgraduate studies in Social Sciences and received the A.M. and Ph.D. degrees from the State University of Iowa in 1929 and 1932 respectively. He also spent some time at Yale studying Anthropology. In both of these institutions he was awarded University Scholarships and a Fellowship for three consecutive years in recognition of his abilities. He has made two trips to the United States and has also been in China and Japan. While in those countries Dr. Motwani was invited to lecture at various universities. He is also the author of *Manu : A Study in Hindu Social Thought*. Since his return, he has been giving much of his time to the fostering of interest in Sociology in Indian Universities and in the creation of an Indian Academy of Social Sciences. His special subjects are Sociology, Anthropology and Political Science. We are confident that he will stimulate keen interest in these subjects which are of vital importance to the work of our Institution.

*Dr. M. Vasudeva Moorthy, B.A., Ph.D.*—After graduating from the Madras University, Dr. Moorthy joined the Bombay University School of Economics and Sociology in 1935 as a research student in Sociology and submitted his thesis for the Ph.D. degree in June 1942. During this period he was a University Scholar for one year and a Fellow in Sociology for two years. In recognition of his work he was given University Research Grants thrice to tour through different parts of South India to gather original data for the reinterpretation and reconstruction of Hindu Social Institutions. As a Fellow in Sociology he was entrusted with the duties of guiding research students in Sociology at

their preliminary stages. To gather material for his research he not only travelled widely in South India but worked and lived among the poor thus gaining first hand knowledge of the living conditions and problems of the working classes both in urban and rural areas. Since we are planning to expand our Labour Welfare Section in the near future, Dr. Moorthy, being deeply and genuinely interested in the welfare of labourers, will, we feel sure, make a special contribution to this field of work.

*Mr. V. S. Abhyankar, M.A., B.Sc.*—Mr. Abhyankar has sojourned for some fourteen years abroad. He has not only spent many years in America but has visited Europe, China and Japan. He is a triple graduate of two American Universities and received his M.A. degree from the Oklahoma State College. Sociology was his major subject in his undergraduate course. He has carried out some investigations and studied the organisation and methods of various charitable institutions. He has also had some experience as librarian, and is now entrusted with the supervision and organisation of our library. In view of his wide experience abroad, Mr. Abhyankar has been given charge of supervising students' field-work which we hope to increase in coming years.

*Mr. K. C. Mookerjee, M.Sc.*—Mr. Mookerjee comes to us from Calcutta. He passed the M. Sc. examination of the Calcutta University in 1937 in Psychology, standing first in the First Class and securing the University Gold Medal for the year. In 1937 he joined the Statistical Laboratory of the Presidency College in Calcutta and specialised in Statistics. Later he was appointed a postgraduate Research Scholar of the University in August 1938 and served in that capacity till 1940. As a Research Scholar, he worked in various fields of Applied Psychology with particular reference to mental testing, industrial psychology, vocational psychology, etc. Before joining us, he was Head of the Department of Psychology in the Vidyasagar College in Calcutta. In addition to lecturing on his special subject and social statistics, he also carries on the work of mental testing in our Child Guidance Clinic. Next term Mr. Mookerjee will carry out some research studies in the local mills. Application of psychology to industrial problems, though common in the West, is still new in India. We have had this line of work in mind for some time and we are glad to have been able to secure his services.

With these well qualified members added to the faculty, we are looking forward to a brighter and more successful future. The distinctive contribution of each and the opportunities this outstanding centre already affords for study and experiment should make for more effective attack on many new fronts.

We have this year started the experiment of annual admissions. Hitherto we admitted students to our institution only once in two years. This policy was adopted as the School itself, being the first and the only

school of its kind in India, was in an experimental stage. Besides, it was also necessary to find out how much demand there would be for men and women trained in professional social work. This made it necessary to admit a small number, and that once in two years. But now the increasing demand for graduates of our School has encouraged us to take another step. So we have admitted a Junior Class but restricted admission to a small number owing to insufficient classroom accommodation and inadequate hostel facilities.

#### CLASS OF '45

The students who have been admitted to the Junior Class are :—

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|--|---|
| 1. Bhaskaran, P. A.,<br>B.A., Madras University, 1941.<br>Cochin.  | 7. Kurup, Mrs. Thankom,<br>B.A., Madras University, 1943.<br>Travancore.        |
| 2. Chatterji, Bimalananda,<br>B.A., Nagpur University, 1941,<br>LL.B., ,, ,, 1943.<br>Hoshangabad, C. P.                       | 8. Mehta, Miss Sheroo Framroze,<br>B.A., Bombay University, 1943.<br>Bombay.    |
| 3. Dordi, Miss Piloo Ardeshir,<br>B.A., Bombay University, 1943.<br>Bombay.  | 9. Nanavatty, Meher Cavashah,<br>B.Sc., Bombay University, 1943.<br>Bombay.     |
| 4. Ginwala, Miss Prochy Furdoonji,<br>B.A., Bombay University, 1943.<br>Broach.  | 10. Pillai, G. Sankara, .<br>B.A., Madras University, 1939.<br>Travancore.      |
| 5. Gore, Madhav Sadashiv,<br>B.A., Bombay University, 1942.<br>Hubli.  | 11. Rathod, J. L.<br>B.A., Bombay University, 1943.<br>Bombay.                  |
| 6. Jagannadha Rao, Mallimadugula,<br>B.Sc., Andhra University, 1936,<br>M.Sc., Dacca University, 1938.<br>Vizianagram, Madras. | 12. Shaikh, Rafiuddin Ameer,<br>B.A., Bombay University, 1943.<br>Bombay.       |
|  | 13. Vakharia, Miss Parin Hormasji,<br>B.A., Bombay University, 1943.<br>Broach. |

*Expansion of Field-Work.*—At the time the school was founded it was difficult to find suitable field-work facilities for our students. But now several agencies which have employed our own graduates to run their services on modern lines are cooperating with us in providing field-work centres. The Children's Aid Society, the Government Labour Welfare Department, the Welfare Department of the Municipal Corporation, the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India, Sir Ratan Tata Welfare Centre and the Bombay Presidency Released Prisoners, Aid Society—all generously cooperate with us in providing field-work facilities. In addition to these centres, we are

negotiating with the authorities of the Nagpada Neighbourhood House to take over some of its activities. In running them our plan is to appoint a committee of students with a Faculty Adviser for each section, like youth welfare, adult education, etc., and make each committee plan, organise and run the activities. This plan, we believe, will help to bring out their powers of initiative and give them experience in organising and conducting welfare and recreational work. All these activities will be carried on under the supervision of a faculty member. Mr. Abhyanker will be especially responsible for supervising the field-work of students in all the centres. Later we hope to make field-work as much a part of the required curriculum as other subjects of the two-year course.

Another new feature which will interest our alumni is the common Mess we have started recently. Hitherto, as the old students will remember, the lady students boarded with the Health Visitors and the men had to make suitable arrangements in nearby hotels. This had always been a matter of dissatisfaction. Recently, it became possible to take over the dining room and two additional rooms from the Health Visitors Institute. The lady students are in charge of the mess which they are running on a cooperative basis. So the men and women now have a common mess which is contributing greatly to the spirit of friendliness and mutual helpfulness. Even day-scholars have their lunch and tea here. Evidently the food is good as some of the faculty members are also being attracted by the mess! I must express my appreciation of the fine spirit manifested by the ladies in shouldering this responsibility. Miss Ranga Iyer and Mrs. Bhatt deserve special mention in this connection.

*Dijapur and Bengal Relief.*—It is very gratifying to report that our students have been active in raising funds for the famine stricken areas. In view of their studies and other duties, it is not possible for them to express their deep sympathy with the sufferers in any way other than collecting money for their relief. Of the amount collected so far, Miss Leela Kulkarni alone is responsible for raising over Rs. 2,000/- for the starving poor of Bengal through her untiring efforts. We offer her our hearty congratulations.

J. M. KUMARAPPA



## ALUMNI CHRONICLE

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It is always a pleasure to hear from our old students working in different parts of India and to know of their welfare and achievements. We regret very much that we are at present unable to publish alumni news but once a year. When the paper situation becomes normal, we shall devise a better method of keeping our *Alumni* in touch with each other. Meanwhile, here is a brief chronicle of last year's new appointments and promotions :

*Mr. P. S. Anantnarayan*, ('40), who was Labour Statistician with the Tata Oil Mills, Co., Ltd., is now Labour Officer of the Tata Oil Mills, Sewri, Bombay.

*Miss G. K. Appalaswamy*, ('42), has been appointed Superintendent of the Government Certified School, Sholapur.

*Mr. J. V. Bhawe*, has joined the Bombay Children's Aid Society as Probation Officer.

*Mr. N. A. Desai*, ('42) who was formerly Labour Welfare Officer of the Pioneer Magnesia Works, resigned his job to accept the post of the Welfare Officer of the Ahmedabad Municipality.

*Mr. K. G. Dighe*, ('42), the Probation Officer of the Children's Aid Society, Bombay, has been appointed Deputy Superintendent of the Society's Remand Home.

*Mr. K. B. Golwala*, ('40), who was formerly Superintendent of the Sir C. J. Colony and Sir Ratan Tata Welfare Centre, has entered the field of journalism.

*Mr. J. P. Gupta*, ('42), who was Organizing Probation Officer of the Children's Aid Society, Lahore, is now the Chief Probation Officer and Superintendent of the Remand Home, Children's Aid Society, Delhi.

*Miss Leela Kulkarni*, ('42), is now on the staff of our Child Guidance Clinic as Assistant Social Case Worker.

*Mr. Z. D. Mahajan*, ('42), who was Government Probation Officer, Poona, has recently been 'recruited' as Extra Assistant Technical Recruiting Officer, Bombay area.

*Miss Maki S. H. Modi*, ('42), resigned her post as Family Case Worker of the Parsi Panchayat Funds and Properties, Bombay, owing to ill-health.

*Mr. A. G. Nagaraj*, ('42), is Superintendent of the Vikasa-Griha, Ahmedabad.

*Miss K. B. Naik*, ('42), who was Lady Superintendent of Women's

Welfare Training Camp, Fyzabad, U. P., resigned her post owing to her father's sudden death and is now Government Probation Officer, Poona.

*Mr. D. C. Nanda*, ('42), recently resigned his post as Probation Officer of the Children's Aid Society and is devoting his time to the work of the Communist Party.

*Mr. Ladli Nath Remu*, ('40), has resigned his post as Probation Officer of the Children's Aid Society, Bombay, owing to some misunderstanding, and is now engaged in Organizing Industrial Co-operative Groups.

*Mr. Pednekar R. Rao*, ('40), who was Superintendent of the Government Labour Welfare Centre, Naigam, has been appointed Assistant Labour Officer of the Government of Bombay.

*Mr. Girdhari Lal Rajbhanshi*, ('42), who was Assistant Superintendent of the B. J. Home, Bombay, has been appointed Organizing Probation Officer of the Children's Aid Society, Lahore, Punjab.

*Mrs. Manjula Shukla*, ('38), is now working as Lady Labour Welfare Officer in Ahmedabad.

*Mr. Sher Singh*, ('40), formerly Superintendent and Probation Officer of the Sheppard After-Care Home, has been appointed Government Probation Officer, Bombay.

*Mr. Wilfred Singh*, ('40), Probation Officer of the Children's Aid Society, Bombay, has recently been appointed Government Probation Officer and his services have been lent to the same Society.

*Mr. L. T. Kochavara*, ('38), who acted as Chief Probation Officer and Superintendent of the Remand Home of the Children's Aid Society, Bombay, has reverted to his permanent post.

*Mr. R. Velayudhan*, ('40), has been appointed to the post of Labour Officer, Tata Oil Mills Co., Ltd., Tatapuram, Cochin.

### ALUMNI ASSOCIATION

At the third Annual Meeting of the Association held on the 28th August, the following members were elected to the Executive Committee for the year 1943-44 :—

<i>Secretaries :</i>	{ <i>Mr. Wilfred Singh,</i> <i>Mr. Cherian Mampilli.</i>
<i>Treasurer :</i>	<i>Mr. Jagannath Bhawe.</i>
<i>Members from Bombay :</i>	{ <i>Miss Leela Kulkarni,</i> <i>Mr. Dulip Chand Nanda.</i>
<i>Members from outside :</i>	<i>Mr. Yeshwant D. Mahajan.</i>

## BOOK REVIEWS

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*Some Aspects of Social Case Work in a Medical Setting.* By HERRIETT M. BARTLETT. New York: George Banta Publishing Co., 1942. Pp. 185. \$ 2.00.

Books on Social Case Work in a Medical Setting are indeed very rare and there is a great need for books such as the one under review. In this volume the Committee on Functions of the American Association of Medical Social Workers present the third of a series of studies which have been chiefly concerned with the contents of medical social practice. The book has a double value. In the first place, it is an exceedingly worthwhile contribution in the field of social case work in general in so far as it deals with its techniques in a detailed and a very readable manner. Much of what is written is very valuable for the student and practitioner of social case work in any field as its fundamental principles and the philosophies underlying them are intelligently discussed and illustrated by detailed case records. Secondly, as it is a book dealing with social case work in a medical setting the special problems encountered in the field of medical social practice are described and discussed in a scientific spirit. To most readers in India this will be a presentation of an altogether new subject.

The experience of several leading practitioners of medical social work in America over a period of some years, being responsible for its production, the book has a high value for the quality of its scientific contributions. The need for medical social case work is clearly brought out, its techniques and beneficial results are discussed intelligently with the help of illustrative case material using a verbatim type of recording the contacts between the social case worker and the client. Such subjects as the meaning of illness to the patient, the relationship between the physician, the patient and the social worker, the integration of social case work with the medical setting, problems of intake and function in relation to larger numbers of patients are all discussed in a very helpful and readable way. The case illustration and the discussion fully illustrate the reality of social problems related to illness and medical care which are encountered in medical institutions and the social need of sick people and the real opportunity for social case work to be of help and assistance to them. Help that can be rendered by the "briefer case" type of social case work is also described and the techniques of rendering such help are discussed in a scientific manner, the authors pointing out both the possibilities and limitations of this approach. In India where the paucity of trained social case

workers is great this "briefer case" type of social case work will be found particularly useful. Hence, all those interested in this kind of work will find this volume of special interest.

K. R. MASANI

*Schizophrenia in Childhood.* By CHARLES BRADLEY, M.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. Pp. 152. \$ 1.88.

Our knowledge of the causation and etiology of mental diseases in general is still imperfect though there has been during the last two decades a good deal of research on the various factors involved therein. Any book, such as the present one, intended to supplement our knowledge about these diseases, will be welcomed by those who are interested in such problems. Schizophrenia or Dementia Praecox, as it is also called, belongs to the Psychosis group and formerly it was believed to be an adult's disease and was consequently associated with the problems of adolescence. This belief was due to the fact that very few recorded instances of childhood schizophrenia could be traced from the existing psychiatric and psychoanalytic literature in the field. Of late, however, it seems to be generally accepted that this type of mental disorder sometimes makes its first appearance during the early childhood years though their actual incidence is not quite so frequent.

There has accumulated a considerable amount of literature bearing on childhood schizophrenia but these lack in systematization.\* To meet this situation by providing a comprehensive summary of the available literature in the field, the writer has brought out the present volume, which in every way is an authoritative exposition of the disease extending over a wide range including the incubation period. Apart from being an excellent summary of the existing facts about the onset and causes of the disease, the book also appears to be an invaluable guide to the study and diagnosis of it.

The author after explaining the terms, Dementia Praecox and Schizophrenia, with specific illustration of how the disorder appears in children, has reviewed in detail our present day knowledge of the different phases of childhood Schizophrenia. All the sixteen chapters comprising the book are well written. The clinical picture of this disease as presented here is very thorough and comprehensive, leaving practically nothing out of consideration, and this will readily help those who are concerned with the early diagnosis and treatment of this disease. In the concluding chapter the author has made up a practical concept of childhood Schizophrenia based on the clinical picture and this no doubt adds to the practical importance of the book. The only point that strikes one is the absence of any exposition of the psycho-analytic doctrines in relation to Schizophrenia in this book which has been largely

written from the psychiatric standpoint. But that does not in any way detract the value of the book which may otherwise be regarded as an outstanding contribution not so much for its originality but for its systematization and lucidity of expression.

K. C. MOOKERJEE

*Mental Growth and Decay.* BY N. N. SEN GUPTA. Allahabad : Kitabistan, 1942. Pp. 120. Rs. 3/-.

In an age when so much stress is being laid and rightly too, on sizing up a man's abilities, aptitudes, temperamental qualities etc., to find out his occupational fitness, the present book is a valuable contribution towards the proper understanding of the basic facts underlying such problems in their true perspective and context. The scientific solution of these problems lies in a correct appreciation of the fundamental facts about our mental life, the peculiarities, if any, of the development of various mental abilities with which the human being is more or less endowed to face the problems of daily living. Not only is the problem important from the individual and subjective points of view but it is even more so from the employer's point of view, who has to secure the maximum efficiency without putting undue stress either physically or mentally on the worker. It is precisely here the book is valuable as it is a contribution to our knowledge of these problems of mental make-up. The facts about the mental decay or 'dementia' and the problems connected with it have also been discussed, though not to one's absolute satisfaction.

The book has been divided into three sections: first section deals with the different problems of mental growth; second section discusses profiles of growth of some mental and psycho-physical characteristics, and the third section presents various problems of mental decay. While the justifiability of including a separate section on the technique of profile representation and interpretation in a book like this can be questioned, we cannot altogether overlook the utility of it in the field of mental statics and dynamics, and it is perhaps for this reason that this section has been incorporated by the author, though by its inclusion he has introduced some technicalities in his book which he could have avoided. He has, wherever possible, presented the readers with good charts and tables of his findings which form an essential feature of the book. Some of the conclusions are well-written, while others require further data to substantiate the view-points. The study of the problems of 'senility' and the findings and formulations in this connection, though important, are not all conclusive. In fact, further study and research in this field, which is pregnant with immense possibilities, is needed before we can come to any dependable conclusion. In relation to the vastness of the subject, the

treatment is not exhaustive enough. Nevertheless, the author has given us a good summary of many important characteristics of mental growth and decay.

K. C. MOOKERJEE

*Predicting the Child's Development.* By W. F. DEARBORN & W. M. ROTHNEY, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.: Art Publishers, 1941. Pp. 360. \$4.50.

This book is the third volume of the "Harvard Growth Study" series. It contains a large mass of data collected by measuring the same individuals at different stages extending over a fairly long period. This method of study which has been called the "Longitudinal" study, in contrast to the usual cross-sectional studies, in which different individuals of differing age groups are measured and compared, is rather of recent origin and books attempting a systematic presentation of the results obtained from such studies are still very few. In fact, teachers of Psychology are badly in need of reliable "Norms" of infant and child development and of developmental phases at different ages. The book under review will, to a certain extent, remove this long felt want though its contents are intended more for advanced students and research workers in this field than for ordinary classroom lectures.

The subject matter has been divided into a number of chapters each dealing with some particular aspect of the general problem of child development. The authors have taken great pains to explain at length the details of the methods and procedures adopted in the collection and tabulation of the data, but unfortunately the methods of measurements proper have not been explained in the same manner. The bulk of the data summed up and presented here is purely mathematical in nature and this may be due to the authors' over-anxiety to make the study quite objective. The large number of tables, figures and diagrams, though well drawn, are in some places difficult to appreciate.

The figures reported in this volume refer to the measurements of 3,500 school-going children, spread over different periods of their life. From a large number of such records of each child's physical and mental traits at different ages, the authors have eventually arrived at some standards of growth and development for the different ages and groups. More emphasis has, however, been laid throughout the book on the measurement of physical capacities rather than on the measurement of mental traits. This is perhaps due to the relative ease with which physical capacities can be measured and studied. In a book like this one would expect a chapter dealing with the different units of measuring the physical and mental capacities. This apart, it contains valuable scientific information on predicting the child's development, but it can be best appreciated only by those who have some specialized training in mathematics and statistics.

K. C. MOOKERJEE

*Industrial Problems of India* (A Symposium). Edited by P. C. JAIN.  
Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1942. Pp. 241. Rs. 4/8.

Here we have a symposium of ten articles—including the Introduction—constituting a creditable challenge and a refutation of the popular propagandist arguments that India was, is, and shall be an agricultural country only, that Indian capital is shy, labour is inefficient, unsteady and so on. To this symposium a number of economists “who are comparatively young” have contributed essays dealing with the problems of Indian industrialization from different points of view. In spite of their differences in approach, all the writers have arrived at the common conclusion that it is necessary for India to industrialize herself; and in order to do this she must at once tap and organize not only her material and labour but also capital and market.

Dr. Gyan Chand in his Introduction to the book points out that India cannot, economically speaking, become a “hermit nation” in a world which is inevitably moving towards industrialization. The writer combats Mahadev Desai’s view that evils are inherent in industrialization and rightly points out that in small scale industries also exploitation appears. According to him, one way of avoiding the evil consequences of industrialization is by centralizing economic power and developing the right social purpose. In dealing with the “Philosophy of Industrialization”, J. K. Mehta pleads for a happy blending of agriculture and industry and for a more balanced economy. He refutes the argument that India has always been merely an agricultural country and rightly says that both industry and agriculture were flourishing in old India. Even if the description that India has been an agricultural country is true, it does not follow that she should necessarily remain as such for all time. As the author maintains an agricultural country may not be unfit for industrial development. Moreover, in the present industrial economy of the world India cannot advantageously retain her place as a mainly agricultural country. Though the author has insisted on a balanced economy he has over-praised industry to the disadvantage of agriculture. This is a serious drawback in his otherwise good essay which seeks to harmonize industrial and agricultural economy.

Dr. V. S. Dubey writing on the “Mineral and Power Resources”, calls upon the State to prospect the mineral resources of each province and to give every encouragement to private enterprise to tap these resources. According to the writer we have not yet utilized our metal resources, except iron and steel, to the fullest advantage. Even then, he says that with the separation of Burma (political and formal under the aegis of Britain) from India, India is rather deficient in metals. Now that Burma is actually separated from India, and lies under the shadow of Japan, Dr. Dubey’s finding that the “metal supply

of Burma is indispensable for the future progress of our country" sounds rather pathetic.

Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao has dealt with "Small Scale and Cottage Industries". His main contention is that "from the point of view of securing maximization of employment, small scale and cottage industries have an important part to play in our economic life". Dr. Rao gives the wrong impression that India has already reached the peak of production so far as consumption goods are concerned and that there is no scope for further employment of labour in that quarter. The writer rightly points out the difficulties of small scale and cottage industries as regards raw materials, technique of manufacture, finance, marketing and so on, but concludes almost every paragraph by such statements as "Government has a very important part to play etc."; "Again State help and initiative seem to be indispensable" "again, therefore, a problem requiring State initiative"; "State help is urgently required". This sounds wretchedly school-boyish.

"Financial and Commercial Policy" and "Foreign Trade" which form Chapters IV and V, are written by Mr. B. P. Adarkar and Dr. B. V. Narayanswamy Naidu respectively. The former enters into a strong plea to develop internal markets for India while the latter clearly shows how the foreign trade of India is being mismanaged by India's rulers. Mr. Adarkar well argues that India's tariff management must be guided not by revenue but industrial considerations. Dr. Naidu, on the other hand, analyses various factors which have led to the progressive degeneration of India's foreign trade. From an economic point of view foreign trade, he says, should occupy a minor place in determining India's national prosperity. With Mr. Adarkar, Dr. Naidu criticizes bilateral trade pacts. In this respect Dr. Naidu's cogent arguments are worth noting.

Mr. P. C. Jain, dealing with "Money and Capital Markets", has brought out the point that there is no lack of investible funds in India, but there are no facilities for investment. According to the author only a small portion of our annual savings comes into the active money and capital markets. Therefore, there is ample scope for tapping Indian savings, though there are difficulties to be overcome, like the absence of inter-relation between various money market rates, seasonal nature of funds etc. Mr. Jain's handling of the difficult subject of Money and Capital Markets is very lucid.

Labour problems have been dealt with by Dr. Bool Chand in his "Industrial Disputes", and by Dr. A. I. Qureshi in his "Industrial Efficiency and Labour", forming Chapters VIII and IX of the book respectively. Dr. Bool Chand writes to the point that worker's organization should be encouraged and industrial courts (*a la* in Bombay) must be instituted in all the provinces



of India. He pleads for the constitution of Trade Boards and for a minimum wage legislation. Dr. Qureshi's essay is very interesting and merits high commendation. With a keen appreciation of the problem the writer argues that the proverbial inefficiency of the Indian Labourer is due to bad food, bad housing, and want of education, for all of which the labourer is not responsible. According to him the problem before the country is to create a permanent class of contented workers who will be *pulled* to the town instead of being *pushed* out. This can be done by (1) improving conditions of life in towns and (2) taking care of the workers' children. Dr. Qureshi's plea to provide village type of houses in the suburbs to the workers is highly suggestive and if the plan is worked out in detail it may lead to a constructive programme of workers' colonies. But, perhaps, this will also mean the shifting of industrial plants to the suburbs and a replanning of the city without slums.

Finally comes Mr. P. C. Jain again writing on "Economic Planning", the last chapter of the book. Here the author writes in favour of centralized planning. The author's criticism of the cost-price test (which he admits will not be available in a planned economy) is rather flimsy. The alternatives he suggests are unsatisfactory besides being highly controversial. He has not worked out any theory of distribution in a centralized economy. Mr. Jain may well take his own warning: "Nothing is more fatal to centralized planning than vague generalizations without any definite ends capable of achievement".

On the whole, the book under review is stimulating. Though written by many it exhibits unity of thought and purpose. The book will prove useful to students and general readers.

M. V. MOORTHY

*The Problem of Sickness Insurance.* By V. P. KENI, Vile Parle, Bombay. 1943. Pp. 185.

Ever since the publication of the Beveridge Report, discussion on social security has become popular all over the world. As yet we are not aware of any comprehensive social security programme for our country, though pleas are put forth for increasing India's industrialization. Here is Mr. V. P. Keni, who makes a modest attempt in his book, *The Problem of Sickness Insurance*, to offer suggestions regarding sickness insurance for industrial labour in India which is an important item of social security. But the question of insuring the health of the industrial worker has been shelved by the Government of India for the last 16 years in spite of the recommendations in this direction of the International Labour Conference of 1927.

In his suggestions Mr. Keni follows the lead given by the Bombay Textile Labour Inquiry Committee. He envisages a compulsory health insurance

scheme of a tripartite contributory type. Cash benefits, hospital facilities, maternity allowances and funeral charges are the chief features of the sickness insurance scheme, though Mr. Keni is slow to plead for all these, obviously for fear of making the burden of cost heavy. He opines that the flat rate method is best suited to India. For purposes of calculating the cost of a general scheme the author assumes the sickness rate to be only 9 days in a year per insured person. Although this figure appears to be based on some statistical calculations, it is very doubtful if the assumption of such a low rate is correct in the light of general experience. Of course, as the author himself points out, we should not shelve the question of sickness insurance in the absence of adequate morbidity statistics. But we should not also on that account underestimate sickness incidence. However, Mr. Keni's discussion of this complicated problem is lucid and helpful for beginning constructive social security planning in our country.

M. V. MOORTHY

*Rabindranath Through Western Eyes*. DR. A. ARONSON. Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1943. Pp. 158. Rs. 4/8.

Though the poet has a local habitation and a name he belongs to the whole of humanity. He appeals to the conscience and eternal sentiments of mankind. The world inherits his message and treasures it, regardless of his race, language, country and creed. But here is a book, "Rabindranath Through Western Eyes" written by Dr. A. Aronson, which makes revealing reading. Within a small compass, but with amazing wealth of detail, the author shows up the inhibitions which the West has had to overcome in recognizing Tagore as a Poet. According to Dr. Aronson, the sensational popularity of Tagore in the West has been due to the political capital which post-war Germany made out of his name and message. Otherwise the Poet is little read and less understood, if understood at all !

Cultural, political, racial and colonial prejudices have come in the way of Tagore's success in the West. Indeed, the West as a whole has resented the cultural onslaught of the East symbolized in Tagore and has defended itself against it as proved by books like Henri Massis' *Defence of the West* and by D. H. Lawrence's letter which the author quotes. But why should the West regard cultural contacts with the East as cultural onslaughts ? The reason seems to be that the West is suffering from spiritual inferiority complex which shows itself in infantile outbursts like that of Massis' or Lawrence's or even Kipling's. It is not quite clear what Dr. Aronson himself thinks about these controversies about Tagore and the East. But the book amply reveals that the West insists not merely on seeing Rabindranath through its own eyes

but on doing so with blinkers on! Nevertheless, it must be admitted that there is also another side to Tagore's popularity in the West. Many are the sympathetic souls like Yeats, Romain Rolland and others who have shown a genuine appreciation of the Poet's message. The author has added a good bibliography of books published in the West on Rabindranath Tagore.

M. V. MOORTHY

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## INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY THROUGH SCIENTIFIC WELFARE

O. MOHANASUNDARAM

Industrialization has condemned our workers to a life of perpetual poverty and ill-health. Consequently the relation between labour and capital is none too happy. Mr. Mohanasundaram maintains that organization of Labour Welfare, Works' Council and other schemes to promote the workers' health, education and security will not only cement and smoothen employer-employee relations but also lead to qualitative returns to industry in the shape of abiding loyalty, efficiency and good will.

Mr. Mohanasundaram is Physical Director in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras.

**B**EFORE we discuss how we can attain the maximum industrial efficiency, which is as important as the fighting efficiency of our armed forces in the battle fronts, it will not be out of place to examine rationally some of the problems, that have been created by the rapid industrialization and the speeding up of production, which have direct bearing on industrial efficiency. Many may argue that we are not much touched by industrialism and that India is primarily an agricultural country, and as such her problems pertain mostly to agriculture. But one cannot be blind to the fact that India has already been caught in the whirlwind of world industrialism, and if she is to play her part in the world stage, she cannot neglect her large scale industries. Industrialism has come to stay and is bound to progress in India, and being the last in the race India has the unique opportunity to benefit by the experience of the other countries, and avoid its many pitfalls and drawbacks.

*Industry for National Service.*—We cannot condemn industrialism wholesale and say that it has created the two great monsters—exploitation at home and imperialism abroad—the man-eaters that are devouring the very vitals of civilization. After all we have to confess that industrialism is a product of science. If it has been misused, it can still be redeemed. Has not Soviet Russia proved the possibilities of an industrialism which is harnessed to the service of humanity? In that country, industries have become national assets. It is possible to reduce exploitation to the minimum by humanising the industries by way of short hours of work, better standard of life, better conditions of living, education and cultural achievement. By planned exploitation of the raw materials and systematic tapping of the various dormant resources in our still-unexplored country, is it not possible to raise the living standard of our people, who are now half-clad, ill-fed and foul-housed? Is it not possible to solve much of the problems of unemployment and under-employment? A great deal can be done to satisfy the material wants of the individuals and elevate them by socially creative enterprises. A rational seeking for the highest

possible industrial efficiency will lead us to recognise the many remediable evils of industrialism. Efficiency of a worker will depend not only on how and where he works and lives, but also on what he eats, how he spends his leisure, and the multifarious problems that face him, his family and his social group.

*The Worker in the City.*—We see how the cities have grown chaotically around industries, pulling like a magnet the unsophisticated folks from the villages and settling them down in the many slums that spring up like mushrooms all about. The many evils of slum life are quite apparent, but suffice it to say that slums breed most of the plague, pestilence, crime and vice. In contrast to the labourers in the West, our labour population in India is drawn mostly from the villages and is pre-eminently agricultural. The village environment is so very different from that of the city that it is an extremely difficult task to acclimatize oneself to the changed conditions. Life and work in the villages is quiet and slow-moving, in the open and pure atmosphere. Social life is controlled by conformity on the one hand and mutual aid on the other. Work expresses itself in creativeness, either in agriculture, art or craft. One does not seek but creates a job for oneself and improves in and through it. The joy of production of whole articles and pride of craftsmanship take away the toils involved, and thus work becomes synonymous with recreation, and the need for leisure is seldom felt. The same labourer when he is attracted by the glamour of town life gets caught in the whirlwind of industries. He settles down in a cheap slum area where sunlight and pure air may be luxuries; his work-life is speeded up to keep pace with the machinery and he has to work amidst the din and the roar, and in congested and uncongenial atmosphere. He becomes a man of the town, with loosened home ties and social control. The impersonality and the anonymity of city life, coupled with unhealthy and unsatisfactory housing conditions, create a legion of problems. The bringing together of thousands of workers creates innumerable difficulties of adjustment. Each individual reacts to the environmental factors in different ways. Further, there is interaction between these individuals and various conflicts may result. Then again, there may be misfits in the various jobs, 'square pegs in round holes'. The work itself is characterised by monotony, repetition and nerve-racking speed and is more mechanical than creative. After a day's work the labourer is fatigued both mentally and physically; the home may not be congenial as to be the soothing balm to his tired nerves and muscles, and he seeks easy ways of relief and excitement through drinking, dissipation and participation in the street corner brawls and meetings. His leisure becomes a problem and may be the hours of danger. If properly directed, these may be the hours providing the greatest opportunity for physical development, mental enrichment, moral elevation and cultural advancement. Has not our system of education

its responsibility to prepare and fit our men for their work-life as well as for their leisure?

The flowers of youth are thus drawn from the villages and after servitude for the best part of their life in towns return as strangers to their own rural parts, unfit for the rough rustic life, physically wrecked and diseased, and economically ruined with nothing to fall back on during their sickness or old age. If this is going to happen to our people generation after generation, will the industries attract the best of men, and will it improve industrial efficiency? Taking a long-range view of things it is imperative that industries in their own interest should tackle the problem of counteracting the evil effects of city life and industrialism now and without delay. We cannot expect our workers to give out their best, if all the time they are haunted by the nightmare of instability of work and economic insecurity.

*Industrial Welfare.*—Industrial welfare work is not merely providing a few amenities for working men and their families but a serious attempt to deal with internal working conditions, workers' grievances, the promotion of industrial harmony, stability of labour, security of employment, adequate wages, etc. There are benefits which the worker is unable to secure for himself such as decent housing, adequate sanitation, efficient medical attention, education and recreation.

Welfare is an attempt on the part of industrialists to smoothen some of these difficulties that confront an industrial worker in the city, make them less irksome or solve them thoroughly whenever and wherever possible. Welfare is the lubricant for the human part of the industrial machine, and it is not undertaken purely for philanthropic reasons. The motivating factors may be touching on the borders of humanitarianism, or be entirely selfish for increased efficiency and be purely for business interests; or to counteract the labour union demands, or to use the surplus profit or to fulfil the State requirements. But the pendulum is fast swinging towards the realization that wherever welfare work has been seriously and sincerely tried, it has paid dividends in the shape of loyalty to the industry and the employers. As H. R. H. the Duke of York has aptly put it: 'Today the question for the employers is not whether they can afford to adopt this or that form of welfare work, but rather whether they can possibly afford to do without it.'

*The Human Factor.*—No machine of steel or brass, however well constructed, will work satisfactorily unless ~~it is~~ kept clean and lubricated and is run under suitable conditions. The human machine which is made of flesh, blood and bones has a far more complicated mechanism, is very sensitive to its environments and needs more care and attention. The days of treating workers as labour to be hired and fired at will are fast disappearing. The

workman should not be considered as a labourer hired for 9 hours a day, told to sit in a certain place and move his hands and arms according to carefully planned instructions. We cannot consider the workmen as automatic machines into which we put in one rupee and pull out a rupee-worth of labour. It is being realised that the workman is after all a human being, not an isolated individual but closely linked up to his family, neighbourhood, community and class; with all his faults and failings, feelings and fancies, hopes and dreams, ambitions and aspirations, hoping, planning and, what is more important from the point of view of the employers, grousing and conspiring. When we want good work done with a will, the human element will remain the key to the situation. Contented workers should make for efficiency and greater turn-over. If the human element is not recognised, any scheme of welfare work will run on the rocks, for the most dangerous of rocks is frustrated human nature.

*'Welfare-minded' Management.*—The first essential of any welfare scheme is that the management should be genuinely 'welfare-minded'. Is it not worthwhile to spend money for real and abiding enrichment of the lives of the workers and building the harmonious relationship between the management and labour? Today, the employers are beginning to realise that in addition to fine buildings, splendid canteens, magnificent playgrounds, generous benevolence for sickness, holidays and pensions, the spirit of human understanding and recognition of human values and sympathetic service should pervade the entire administrative machinery of industries. The whole edifice of the welfare organization rests on *confidence* between the work people and the management. Instead of emphasising authority, the workmen should be made to feel their responsibilities. There must be a feeling that every one is working happily together for the firm as well as for himself. The workmen should be made to realize that the management is keenly interested in everyone's problems and willing to assist wherever possible; that favouritism and corruption of every sort will be vigorously discouraged and suppressed; that every one can always rely on a fair hearing for any grievance and is allowed and encouraged to live his life to the best of his ability and according to his own talents.

It is being more and more realised that goodwill and the loyal and affectionate co-operation of the worker is an asset which ought to be written in letters of gold upon the balance sheet of every company. This can be achieved only by a liberal and generous policy of the management administered through many channels by selfless workers who look upon their work not as a profession but as a calling to elevate human personality and provide for each individual worker the three cardinal conditions of physical well-being, full

opportunity for the use of his abilities and means for the development of all his faculties. It should stand for a whole hearted and sweeping effort for human betterment.

*Choosing the Welfare Personnel.*—Welfare service must be a definite part of the management. Since it is a delicate and difficult task, it is necessary to choose the personnel with great care. This field of service demands experts who have gained their knowledge about matters through wide study and technical education, and grinded at the best of schools, experience; they must possess sterling *character* that is beyond any reproach, which can breed nothing but *confidence* in the people amidst whom their lot is cast. Without character they may be a menace to the profession and, instead of creating loyalty and goodwill, may in reality be manufacturing ill-will, bitterness and disharmony. The personal worth of the welfare officer and the confidence he generates will form the foundation of any welfare work. This process of laying the foundation may take years but still it is an essential preliminary. Building an helpful attitude and winning the confidence of the workers is not the work of a day. The pre-requisites are no doubt the simple, sincere, sympathetic, honest and beneficial work done by the welfare workers who take to their work not as a career but as a calling. Welfare work requires the gifts of an organiser, a happy understanding of the people round about, sympathy, patience, persistence, the powers of reconciliation and arbitration, endless amount of goodwill and enthusiasm, knowledge of factory legislation etc. To those competent to do it, there is no more satisfying form of occupation.

*The Labour Officer.*—The Labour Officer is commonly understood as a liaison officer, a 'safety' valve, a shock absorber between the employer and the worker. He has to be a friend, a guide and a philosopher to the workers. Employers should have full faith in the expert unbiased recommendations and counsels of the labour officer, whether these are to their taste or not. There is a danger of developing a dual personality in this delicate task which will land the labour officer in trouble and ruin his entire work. This pitfall could be avoided, if his personality is well-integrated and could resist the temptation of saying things pleasing to the ear but cutting the very vitals of his professional ideals. He should study every given case from his professional point of view and give his expert opinion without being biased towards labour or the management. He must avoid anything in the nature of dictatorship. He must be an educator or a stimulator, not a despot, however benevolent his intentions. For all these, the fundamental condition is that the welfare officer should be a person with an independence, provided by security of tenure, whose business it is to advise on the adjust-



ment of changes to meet human needs. In fact the management should be responsible for elevating the status of the labour officer and facilitating his work. Then his services will be requisitioned not only by the management but by labour as well, and not only during periods of strifes and strikes but also during normal times.

*Qualitative Returns.*—The management will be amply paid, not quantitatively as in the production departments but qualitatively in the shape of abiding goodwill, loyalty, efficiency and abundant life for the worker. These abstract but highly human values can be acquired and cultivated only through constant personal contact with workers at places where they sweat and work, live and share the joys and sorrows of family and community life. Here it will not be out of place to point out about a common danger that usually creeps in big industrial organisations where comprehensive welfare work is undertaken. The key men for labour welfare, often forgetting that their job is amidst people, lose themselves amidst the 'bullock cart' administrative machinery, the elaborate minutes, the meaningless files and the red-tapism which devour all their time and energy. There is nothing better for the labour officer than to establish personal and friendly contacts with the labourers. One way of achieving this end is through the organisation of social clubs and community-recreation centres where labourers will gather in their hundreds and in the best of spirits, not to sit, gossip and conspire, but to participate in elevating and wholesome activities, under inspiring and enthusiastic leadership. An alert labour officer can, through these contacts, feel the pulse of the workers and draw the attention of the management to grievances before they have been formally drawn up and become magnified. This is a delicate task, for, it may be construed as spying on the workers and betraying confidence, but the spirit in which the task is approached will alone dissipate the seeds of suspicion. Let it not be forgotten that real welfare work that has the potentiality to bear fruits in the shape of good-will and loyalty cannot be grown from the seeds of suspicion.

*The Works' Council.*—Works' council or the welfare committee is a co-operative attempt by the management and the work people to come together, to share their problems and to endeavour to solve them. The age when the management and the workers could live as 'two nations' with no sympathy and understanding between them is gone and now they cannot afford to be ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts and feelings. The object of the council is to provide a channel of communication between employers and management and to promote interest, understanding and co-operation for mutual benefit. The object should be to organise unity of interest and then to diminish the area of conflict, and supply, by organised co-operation between employers and em-

ployed, the advantages of human relationship between them. Through the works' council the affairs of the company are explained to all employees, and the policy of contact, consultation, confidence and co-operation established.

The common danger of the works' council is to encroach on the functions of the Trade Union, and if it attempts to do that, it will defeat its own aim and will not command the confidence of the workers who would feel that it is an endeavour to undermine their independence and solidarity. Even in the council if any attempt is made to divide labour by favouritism and playing one group against the other, it will be deeply resented and while there is a doubtful chance of winning a few supporters, it will surely antagonise many. The attitude of the works' council towards organised labour should be one of tolerance since there is plenty of room for many groups and institutions to work for the welfare of the worker and each could be complementary to the other. As a means of expressing the views of work people through their representatives the scheme functions admirably. The representatives realising that they are acting with full recognition of the company perform their duties in the knowledge that their individual relationship with the company will not be affected while acting in good faith. Consequently, there is no hesitation in bringing forward grievances which have reasonable foundation. It is certain that the existence of the works' council influences the improvement of working conditions and amenities. Participation in welfare schemes will afford ample scope and a wide field for improving this relationship.

*The Spirit of Service.*—The industrial welfare work offers many channels of service and we should conceive it as a privilege to work amidst 'the lowliest and the lost' and to see the fruits of our labours expressing themselves in the shape of abundant health, self-realization, confidence and co-operation. Beware, the spirit of service in this field of social work may take the shape of paternal benevolence or patronage but then, that will defeat its own aim. The service should be rendered, not in the spirit of uplifting the down-trodden, for, in that case the pre-requisite will be to crush some people before elevating them, but in the spirit of meting out social justice and affording equal opportunities for all. People with aristocratic temperament are hardly suited for this task, for, they will be just strutting about with pompous air as social butterflies, and infecting the atmosphere with the strong smell of their cosmetics and obnoxious high-brow manners.

The qualities that are demanded of the labour officer apply in general to the entire personnel of the welfare department, whether engaged in the promotion of health, education, recreation or economic security. In fact, the real spirit of welfare should emanate from the management and pervade the entire administrative machinery.

# INDUSTRIAL LABOUR WELFARE

At The Mills  
The Homes  
The Clubs } Where the Labourers { Work  
Live  
Play

## THE AVENUES OF SERVICE

Health	Education	Recreation	Co-operation and promotion of Security
<b>Food</b> Co-operative canteens, Tea clubs, Grain shops, etc.	<b>Kindergarten</b> Near the homes	<b>Workers' own Institutes</b> Games, reading room and library, radio, music, Gymnasium.	<b>Works' Councils and Welfare Committees</b> Co-operation, confidence, interchange of ideas and opinions, channel for communication.
<b>Housing</b> Cheap tenements, Co-operative housing schemes, Sanitation, Healthy community life.	<b>Primary Education for boys</b> Activity principle, Physical and health education, Vocational and technical Training.	<b>Athletic Association</b> Clubs for football, hockey, cricket, badminton, basketball, volleyball, etc.	<b>Co-operative Banks</b> For thrift and loans.
<b>Working Conditions</b> Ventilation, Lighting, Protection from machinery, Wash-rooms etc.	<b>Primary Education for girls</b> Sewing, cooking, cottage industries, simple handicrafts, mothercraft, child care and training.	<b>Sports' training and Annual Sports</b> Excursions, picnics, moonlight cycle rides etc.	<b>Benevolent Schemes</b> Holiday with pay, Medical leave, with compassionate allowance, Bonus, gratuity, pensions, provident fund, etc. Sickness and old-age insurance, Mutual Aid Societies etc. Maternity leave and compassionate allowance for women workers etc.
<b>Medical Attendance</b> Records and certification, Treatment, Village visits, School medical examination and follow-up.	<b>Apprenticeship</b> For half-timers at school.	<b>Dramatic Club</b>	
		<b>Literary Club</b>	
<b>Health-Visiting</b> Pre-natal care, Natal Care, Post-Natal Care, Advice on home nursing, child care and training etc. Creche and Nurseries, if there are working mothers.	<b>Night School</b> For full timers—voluntary.	<b>Community Recreation</b> At the places where the workers live. Boys' clubs, Young Men's Associations, Girls' Clubs, Parents-Children Social, Women's Club, Games, excursions, picnics, celebration of festivities, holiday planning, reading room, debating club, Music, drama, Bhajans, concerts, community singing, Cinema shows, etc.	
<b>Preventive Measures</b> Safety-First Association, A.R.P., First-Aid, Ambulance, Fire-fighting services.	<b>Reading School</b> At the villages		
	<b>Adult Education Classes</b>		

## THE AVENUES OF SERVICE

*Health.*—One of the prime factors for the progress of industry is the health of the workers, for, ill-health means reduced vitality, impaired efficiency and industrial waste. When we talk of health, the layman is usually reminded of a doctor, administering his pill, mixture or an injection, curing the sick and healing the wounded. But the health we are thinking of is that abundant health that will help one to keep away from the sick bed, not only preventing the physical illness but providing plenty of mental health. The emphasis will be on a preventive programme, including the prevention of all avoidable accidents. Doctors undoubtedly have a great share in the promotion of such health, but others such as those connected with recreation, health-visiting, Safety-first Association, A. R. P. and First Aid have distinct contributions to make.

For the promotion of healthy *working and living conditions* the management is entirely responsible. It is false economy to expect the workers to carry on their job, fumbling about in bad light, sweating one day and shivering the next, working in dirt, dampness and disorder suffering the pangs of hunger.

*Food* is a primary necessity and is important in the consideration of health. Malnutrition promotes chronic sub-health and is a handicap to industry itself. Grain shops, co-operative eating houses and cheap canteens within the factory can help the workers to take wholesome food at a minimum cost.

Industrial welfare cannot afford to ignore the subject of *housing* which is also a fundamental need. For health and happy family life, housing is the most important thing. In the slums workers have lived for generations in hopeless poverty, overcrowding and under-feeding which have sapped all initiative and generated apathy. But decent tenements with adequate space, air, light, comfort, sanitary arrangement, good neighbourhood and community surroundings, increase the joy of home life, through better health for the worker and his family, and contribute much towards industrial efficiency. Housing the industrial worker is a joint responsibility of the industrialists, municipalities and governments and individual philanthropists. Industries will gain immensely in the shape of increased efficiency through increased health and happiness. The Government and the Municipalities, benefited as they are by the influx of industries, have to bear their due share of responsibility, and for the sake of general health in the city and prevention of crime and vice, housing schemes will be suitable counter-moves to do away with the slums. For philanthropists, there cannot be a better investment towards nation-building than building happy and healthy generations that will go towards creating a virile nation.

*Education.*—It is a drag on industries and a huge waste to carry on work

with workers whose intelligence has not been sharpened by such education as will fit them to their avocation. It is undoubtedly true that the educated labourer is more efficient, more intelligent, more capable of adapting himself to changing situations and on the whole more desirable than the ignorant worker, too commonly seen in the industrial areas. But the education we advocate is not merely the mastering of the three R's or a smattering of knowledge which may be good for training the subordinate staff involved in the administration of the country, but real, and abiding type that will fit them to their work-life, play-life, family and community life. It should educate the whole man, his body, mind and spirit, and prepare him for work, life, marriage and cultural creativeness. It should be a complete preparation for life, and for efficient functioning throughout life. It should accustom the individual to the life at the village from where his ancestors had come as well as to the life in the industrial city. The high educational value of handicrafts as a means of training the youth should be recognised. The activity principle and the art of learning by doing should be the basic factors in this special field of education, and to this may be added, health and physical education which will help them to face the struggle for existence with courage, endurance and a smile. But there is the danger of the element of work being overdone which may expose it to the charge that it is ultra-utilitarian and materialistic, and that it exploits children. Girls should of course be trained in sewing, cooking, house-keeping, mother-craft, child-care and training. Adult education through cinemas, exhibitions, etc., and the radio could be utilized for educating the illiterate workers. Holiday planning, excursions, cycle-trips, picnics and camping can all prove to be of great educational and recreational value, if the leadership is inspiring and idealistic.

*Recreation.*—The principle of education through play is a recognised factor, and no one can dispute that it has a vital contribution to make towards the attainment of abundant health. "Damaged humanity is a peculiar product of life in cities. It contributes an enormous bad debt on the books of society and if allowed to go on unchecked may ultimately prove the bankruptcy of civilization."<sup>1</sup> Modern recreation movement has accepted this challenge and has undertaken to liquidate this bad debt by re-creating those powers and sides of life which the wear and tear of wage-earning are for ever diminishing.

Recreation is not mere play but includes all the beautiful arts, skills, crafts and hobbies that make the individual physically fit, mentally alert, morally strong and socially amicable. Recreation has a positive contribution to make towards industrial efficiency and national fitness. The small per-

<sup>1</sup> Jacks, L. F.: *Education Through Play*.

centage of workers who have developed habits of active recreation are usually smart, intelligent, keen-eyed but the majority of the others lack these positive attributes and are mere automatons with less vitality and enthusiasm. The unbalanced personalities and dissatisfied workers are responsible for causing a great deal of trouble in the industry today, and checking the growth of that spirit of co-operation and harmony which is so essential for efficient working. Millions of working hours are lost through common complaints such as cold and flu, and through psychological reactions to uncongenial and monotonous working conditions. Is there anything better than organised recreation to counteract the absenteeism due to these petty ailments, the great nervous strain and industrial fatigue that are incidental to any modern high-speed manufacturing method?

The war situation has undoubtedly and unwisely cast recreation into the background. This war of nerves has affected the sense of reasoning and judging the relative value of things. But during these days of heavy strain and nervous tension, people must somehow obtain sufficient relaxation to help them to carry on. Further, we do not know how long this world conflagration is going to continue. This should have been a sufficient reason not to interfere with such nation-building avenues such as education and recreation. Moreover, recreation is the one thing that can develop the strength, endurance and the will to carry on under adverse circumstances and continuously put in the maximum war effort. Fortunately, the industrial age has provided the means towards this end in the shape of enforced leisure. A paradox it may seem but it is convincing that the proper use of leisure of the workers, especially during these days of great strain, will determine to a great extent the efficiency of the workers and the contribution of the industries towards war effort.

Industrial recreation, if it wants to fulfil its purpose, should cater to all individuals according to their individual ability, capacity and means. It should provide a variety of activities suitable for various age-groups. Actual participation is important, if one is to make the best use of leisure. No one grows fit by watching others doing physical exercises or playing games, any more than one becomes educated by buying scholarly books.

Workers prefer to spend their leisure at places free from association with work, and in the company of friends and relatives. It should never be forgotten that we are dealing with people's leisure time, a time when they are free to choose for themselves what they want to do. At the end of their nine-hour day, their susceptibilities and emotions are open to every kind of influence. They are pulled by their home ties, dragged by other associations and tempted by commercialised public entertainments. If the challenge is to be successfully resisted, the club must provide activities which are amusing,

attractive and creative, at places most convenient to workers. The organization of such activities calls for the energy, and initiative of a person of experience, capacity, character, popularity and magnetic influence. Community recreation, if properly conceived and conducted, can turn the crowds into communities through community singing, bhajans, concerts, music, drama, team games sports, picnics, celebration of festivities, inter-communal fellowship, and bring people together and make them co-operate in joyous activity. In ideal community centres, democracy is in action. The very soul of such a centre is in fostering the spirit of self-help and self-government, its encouragement of leadership and its entire disinterestedness. The outstanding values of such an organised recreation will be the development of physical fitness, increased efficiency through better health and happiness, better use of energy and leisure, improvement of employer and employee relationship, better inter-departmental co-operation and fellowship.

*Co-operation and Promotion of Security.*—Now let us consider the field of service which promotes security for our industrial workers. Any shrewd industrialist can say that the turn-over of work of permanent labour is greater than the turn-over of an equal number of casual labour. The experience in the job may be one of the factors but the important one, which we should not lose sight of, is that the labourer who is sure of security of tenure of his job is more keen, alert, gives out his best and feels his responsibility more than the casual labourer who is all the time conscious that his position is insecure and that he may be hired and fired any moment. Industries will gain immensely if they could guarantee this initial security which will go a long way towards stability, minimise mobility and increase the efficiency of labour.

The economic condition of the urban industrial labourer is such that he has to live a hand-to-mouth existence. It is a harrowing fact that the majority, nay even a very high percentage of the labour population, is steeped in indebtedness on account of inadequate wages and the many health hazards, temptations or evils of city life. Usually they fall a prey to the Pathan or the Marwari money-lender who charges an exorbitant rate of interest from 75 per cent to 300 per cent and ruin many helpless families. In industrial concerns where there are no credit societies, it is a common sight to see at the gates on the pay-days, these human vultures in large numbers ready to pounce on their victims and suck their blood to the last drop. The setting up of credit societies by the firms have done much to ~~reduce~~ the influence of these money-lenders but the danger of setting up petty money-lenders within the factory itself should not be over-looked, and should be discouraged. There is a real need for increasing the number of co-operative credit and mutual aid societies, not simply to lend money but to inculcate the habits of thrift, honesty, mutual aid

and promptness in meeting financial obligations.

• Various schemes can be floated to ameliorate the hardships accompanying old age and insecurity of work. There are pensions, retirement gratuities, provident fund schemes, etc., for the benefit of those who have served long. Mutual aid societies could be organised to provide pension for cases of involuntary stoppage of work, indemnity against illness, medical attention, special provision for cases of tuberculosis, maternity, death benefit and convalescent service. Promotion of security of employment, economic security provided by various co-operative schemes and mutual aid societies will all contribute immensely towards the mental health and family happiness of the working class. Should not the industries give a helping hand to these ventures as well? The factory worker anywhere in the world will become a new human being if by any miracle the impression that he is always the victim of exploitation is removed from his mind. But welfare work, if it can build a tradition of mutual trust and confidence, can bridge the gulf that exists between the conflicting interests in modern industry.



## A STUDY OF BEHAVIOUR DISORDERS OF CHILDREN

C. K. VASUDEVA RAO

In this article, the author points out the inadequacy of interpreting behaviour disorders of children purely from the medical or psychological point of view. Since the personality of the child develops only in social interaction, the author pleads for a sympathetic and comprehensive psychotherapeutic approach to the problem of behaviour deviations.

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**T**HE success of the Child Guidance Movement depends upon the coordinated efforts of the workers in the fields of psychology, medicine, psychiatry and social work in understanding and rightly directing the child guidance activities. Each one has his part in a well planned child guidance work. The psychology of individual differences has taught us that just as every adult is an individual by himself and is studied as such, so also each child should be studied in its individual setting and the child itself should be the key to our approach in the study of the psycho-pathology of behaviour disorders of childhood.

### PSYCHO-MEDICAL APPROACH

Among the two rival schools of thought, one emphasises the psychological and the other the medical interpretation of behaviour disorders of children. The former seems to neglect the medical aspect of child guidance work, while the latter tends to ignore the psychological aspect. Behaviour disorders are but the manifestations in some form or the other of deeper stresses and difficulties that encircle the individual child in its ceaseless struggle against the several factors in the environment. A proper knowledge of these deeper stresses and strains in life presupposes a thorough understanding of the child itself. The child is to a perceptible degree the product or expression of the action and reaction between itself and its total milieu. Hence to think of any therapy apart from a proper insight into the child itself is unscientific.

During the years 1940, 1941 and 1942, 250 children attended the Psychological Laboratory for relief. Some of them were referred by the Medical Inspector of Schools and others were brought by the parents themselves. The present article, which attempts to emphasize the importance of the psycho-medical approach in the understanding of the psycho-pathology of behaviour disorders of childhood, is a statistical survey of these cases.

*Psychiatric Examination of Problem Children.*—No child that is brought for consultation to the Psychological Laboratory is to be looked upon primarily as a sick child before it is subjected to a very thorough and painstaking

psycho-physical examination. In a few cases physical examination reports are furnished either by the hospitals who refer them, or by the Medical Inspector of Schools. Even in such cases a further re-examination is not to be considered unnecessary. Generally every child needs to be observed at least for a period of ten days to arrive at a tentative diagnosis. The reactions of the child thus observed are recorded. The record gives a picture of the child's behaviour under carefully controlled environmental conditions. Since each child reacts differently at different sittings, even though the environmental factors remain the same, it is justifiable to infer that the behaviour of the problem child is as dynamic in nature as that of the non-problem child.

It is not enough to know the weaknesses and defects of the problem child. Its assets should also be recorded. A knowledge of the assets is important from the standpoint of cure or correction. An estimate of what the child can do is as important, if not more, as the simple enumeration of the weaknesses and defects of the child. Many a time the child's defects cannot be corrected. Even then it is possible for a competent child guidance worker to aim at social rehabilitation through the intelligent manipulation of its assets.

The case record thus contains details of the child's physical, mental and emotional make-up and an estimate of its assets. It also gives a brief picture of social reactions during the time under observation. It is considered that a detailed study of 250 cases on the above lines will enable us to arrive at a proper understanding of the fundamental causes of behaviour disorders amongst children.

*Fundamental Causes.*—As has already been pointed out, if we are to classify the fundamental causes of behaviour disorder, we should do so on the assumption that behaviour is always an affair of action and reaction between the individual and his total milieu. It is within scientific observation to conceive of a normal child as one who because of its mental equipments is able to live up to an arbitrary standard set for its chronological age. It follows then that the deviations in the behaviour of the child may be due to something wrong

- (1) in the child;
- (2) or in the environment;
- (3) or in both.

In the first group of causes

- (a) malnutrition,
- (b) disorders of the central nervous system,
- (c) intellectual status,
- (d) bodily defects,
- (e) psycho-neurotic and psycho-pathic states, and
- (f) endocrine troubles

were the most significant factors.

In the second group of causes the following were the most frequent factors :

**A. HOME :**

- (1) Jealousy among brothers and sisters.
- (2) Problem-parents.
- (3) Stepparents.
- (4) The first-born child.
- (5) The only child.
- (6) Faulty attitudes of grandmothers.
- (7) Inexperienced nurse.
- (8) Irresponsible servants.

**B. SCHOOL :**

- (1) The personality of the teacher.
- (2) The overcrowded school.
- (3) The subject-centred school with heavy curricula.
- (4) Misdirected extra-curricular activities.
- (5) Absence of extra-curricular activities.
- (6) Prolonged hours of school work.
- (7) Too much home work.
- (8) The presence of other maladjusted children.

**C. NEIGHBOURHOOD :**

- (1) Slums.
- (2) Industrial areas.
- (3) Proximity of liquor shops and gambling dens.

In this scheme of variety of causes, when the cause of a disorder has been classified as falling under the first group, it does not necessarily exclude the presence of any of the factors in the second group. Almost every case of behaviour difficulty shows an admixture of physical, psychological and environmental factors. We cannot think of them as falling under water-tight compartments because the physical, the intellectual and emotional aspects of the child's life never operate independently of one another. However, the predominant factor is the one that determines the group in which the particular child is to be placed. It is essential to know the underlying causative factor responsible for the abnormalities of behaviour. After all we are interested in results, and good results cannot be expected to follow if the line of treatment is based on inexact knowledge of the predominant causative factor.

Table I on page 213 shows the importance of the psycho-medical approach to the study of behaviour disorders amongst children. From the etiological standpoint, factors residing in the child itself and factors in the

environment are responsible for the abnormalities in behaviour. The belief held by the rival schools already mentioned, namely, that the medical aspect constitutes the largest single group of factors responsible for behaviour disorders of children, or that the environmental influences constitute the largest single group of factors, is not borne out by the statistics of our cases.

TABLE I

<i>Predominant Causative Factor</i>	<i>Percentage of cases</i>
1. The first group (factors in the child itself) ...	32
2. The second group (factors in the environment)...	31
3. The third group (factors in both) ...	37
Total ...	100

The predominant causative factor responsible for the abnormalities in behaviour in about 32% of the cases studied is medical in character. An equal number of cases are due to environmental influences, and 37% of the cases are due to causes of a heterogeneous nature. Hence, the right approach to the treatment of behaviour disorders amongst children lies in the application of the social, psychological and medical therapies in proportion to the degree of the predominant causative factor. It is essential to recognise that we treat the individual child as a psychological unit.

TABLE II

<i>Factors in the Child</i>	<i>Percentage of cases</i>
1. Malnutrition ...	8'00
2. Disorders of the central nervous system	6'50
3. Intellectual status ...	6'50
4. Bodily defects ...	4'50
5. Psycho-neurotic and psycho-pathic state	4'25
6. Endocrine troubles ...	2'25
Total	82'00

Behaviour disorder caused by malnutrition is significant. The cause for this is to be sought partly in the poverty of the Indian parent and his low socio-economic condition. It is possible that the diet of the children is non-nutritional in character. A badly fed child suffers from an early onset of fatigue and lack of power of concentration, and consequently is slower to learn. The commonest psychiatric symptoms observed in these children were: delinquency, anti-social tendencies, wandering away from home, hysterical reactions, scholastic backwardness, depressions, fainting attacks, anxiety reactions, stubbornness and bed-wetting. Feeding the child with milk and

other protective foods is followed by a definite improvement in its psychosomatic status.

Disorders of the central nervous system and deviations in the intellectual status account for about 13% of the cases. It is common to expect behaviour disorders among children associated with disorders of the central nervous system. It is also not uncommon to associate mental deficiency or low intellectual status with behaviour disorders. The children were administered the Binet-Simon tests (the Stanford Revision), and their intelligence quotient scores arrived at.

TABLE III

<i>Intelligence Quotient</i>		<i>Percentage of cases</i>	
110 and above (superior intelligence)	... ..	...	10'00
90-110 (average)	... ..	...	36'50
70- 90 (sub-normal)	... ..	...	25'50
Below 70 (defectives)	... ..	...	28'00
Total		...	100'00

From the above table it is seen that to associate behaviour disorders solely with inferior intelligence is erroneous as behaviour disorders are found in children with superior and average intelligence as well. Bodily or somatic defects, psychoneurotic and psychopathic states (hereditary) account for about 9% of the cases, and 2% is due to disturbance in the glandular secretions.

## ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

We have so far made an attempt to understand the maladjusted child from the medical aspect. But this approach must be supplemented by a study of the environmental influences the significance of which in producing behaviour disorders forms the subject matter of the following pages.

TABLE IV

<i>Factors in the Environment</i>				<i>Percentage of cases</i>
A. HOME :				
1.	Jealousy among brothers and sisters	...	...	2'25
2.	Problem parents	...	...	2'15
3.	Stepparents	...	...	2'20
4.	The first-born child	...	...	0'75
5.	The only child	...	...	2'00
6.	Faulty attitudes of grandmothers	...	...	0'50
7.	Inexperienced nurses	...	...	0'50
8.	Irresponsible servants	...	...	0'50
Total			...	10'85

**B. SCHOOL :**

1. The personality of the teacher	...	...	4'15
2. The over-crowded school	...	...	2'00
3. The subject-centred school	...	...	0'25
4. Misdirected extra-curricular activities	...	...	1'25
5. Absence of extra-curricular activities	...	...	1'75
6. Prolonged hours of school work	...	...	2'00
7. Too much home work	...	...	2'50
8. The presence of other maladjusted children	...	...	1'05
		Total	15'05

**C. NEIGHBOURHOOD :**

1. Slums	...	...	...	...	2'05
2. Industrial areas	...	...	...	...	2'00
3. Proximity of liquor shops and gambling dens	...	...	...	...	1'05
			Total	...	5'10

Juvenile behaviour disorders due to unsatisfactory conditions in the home and school account for about 10'85% and 15'05% of the cases respectively as is seen from the above table.

*Home Conditions.*—Amongst unsatisfactory home conditions, jealousy amongst brothers and sisters stands out pre-eminently as the potent cause of conflict in early life. It was found that the birth of a new baby in the house was a very common cause for stimulating jealousy reactions on the child. When the children question their parents as to how and from where the newcomer arrived, they generally do not get satisfactory replies. The majority of the parents report that jealousy reactions were not observed in their children before the arrival of the new baby. The intensity and frequency of jealousy reactions can be minimised if the parents inform and prepare the child beforehand for the arrival of a brother or sister.

Problem parents, stepparents, faulty attitudes of grandmothers, inexperienced nurse and irresponsible servants cause about 5'85% of cases of maladjustments.

As already pointed out in the earlier part of this article, the conduct of the child is simply its reactions to the environment. The parents and the attendants have a large share in the growth and subsequent development of the child's normal mental life—especially on the emotional side. Years of social interaction between the child, its siblings and parents have socialised it to a greater or lesser degree, and naturally the child has to seek emotional satisfaction from them. Cruelty and drunkenness in the home, disharmony, disagreement, desertion, separation and death of the parent or parents, the

arrival of a cruel stepmother—all these present new and difficult situations for a child whose intellectual and emotional life is in its infancy.

Step-parents account for about 2·20% of maladjustments and in about 10% of such cases it is the presence of the stepmother. The child who led a smooth and comfortable life under the loving control of its own mother finds it difficult to get itself adjusted to a stepmother who immediately she steps into the household attempts to impose a set of rules and several don't's. Deviations in behaviour were not intense during the time the stepmother was absent from the child's environment, for instance, when she was away for confinement or in a hospital for prolonged illness, etc. Hence the main treatment would seem to lie either in the removal of the bad parent from the home or the child to a boarding house. But in about 80% of the cases removing the child to a boarding house was found impracticable as the children came from poor and such of the middle class families who were unable to bear the additional expense. The few existing boarding homes are too costly and beyond the reach of the average Indian. Removing the bad parent from the child's home is also impracticable owing to the peculiar ethico-socio-economic status of the Indian, especially Hindu, family organisation. The only remedy seems to be in establishing free boarding homes mainly for such problem children by private and public social service agencies.

Does the order of birth of a child have any influence in determining the incidence of behaviour problem?

TABLE V  
*Order of Birth* *Percentage of cases*

1. First-born	...	...	...	75
2. Last-born	...	...	...	15
3. Intermediate position	...	...	...	10

The above table is more suggestive of the incidence of behaviour problems in the first-born child than in the latter two cases.

The only child is regarded in text books of psychology and psychiatry as a special type of problem. Generally it is the spoilt child. The commonest symptoms observed in them were: temper-tantrums, moodiness, sensitiveness, difficulty in getting along with other children, scholastic difficulties, delinquencies like stealing, truancy, and lying. Scholastic difficulties of the only child were lessened when the child was kept in the company of other children. It is possible that the healthy rivalry and help from other children in the same household act as desirable stimuli to study and scholastic progress. The only child lives in an atmosphere conducive to anti-social conduct. It is found that the presence of another child or children in the family acts as a restraining influence against such anti-social tendencies.

*Unsatisfactory School Conditions.*—Out of the eight factors under this head, the personality of the teacher figures in a large percentage of cases. The personality of the teacher has a deep and powerful influence upon the growing child's mind. The voice, manner, carriage, character and understanding capacity of the teacher were the most significant traits in the teacher's personality tending towards the child's breakdown. There were quite a large number of children who cried at night dreading the idea of going to school the next day. In most of these cases, teachers happened to be young men of little patience and less judgment and ignorant of the needs of the child.

The subject-centred school with a heavy curricula, absence of extra-curricular activity, prolonged hours of school work and too much home work were the other factors responsible for deviations in behaviour of the sensitive, highly-strung, nervous children. The premature onset of fatigue (mental and physical) in the child is due to the above undesirable factors in the school environment.

Some children walk a great distance to the school in a most monotonous manner and they do it under great strain as the idea of reaching school in time is uppermost in their minds. Children almost from the time they set out from their homes get into a sort of anxiety state which continues the whole day. The day's routine at school is often too large. To describe one or two instances may not be out of place. A boy of 7½ years leaves home at 9-45 A.M. for school to cover a two and a half mile journey on foot. He gets back to his house at 6-45 P.M. He does not spend a minute in playing games. Probably all the leisure he has during the interval is spent in eating his mid-day meal. This routine lasting more than 8 hours in the day is a strenuous living for a boy of 7½ years. No arrangements are made for games during the time he is in the school, and the teacher insists on his getting good marks in the examination. While at home he has to do a great deal of home work assigned by the teacher. The one holiday in the week is also utilised in doing extra home work. All these factors combined with his journey to and fro daily reduces the boy to a state of morbid nervousness—depression and exhaustion being the main symptoms. The remedy lies in reducing fatigue. Organised games should become part of the school routine and home work reduced to its absolute minimum.

*Influences of the Neighbourhood.*—Certain forms of personality difficulty, misbehaviour, habit reactions, and emotional and social maladjustments in children are due to the undesirable influences of the neighbourhood. Children generally acquire their bad behaviour from influences in their surroundings rather than through inheritance, and bad behaviour, as a rule, does not develop suddenly. It is the result of a long series of unfavourable influences.



The neighbourhood provides the child the first chances for play and for establishing friendly contact with other children. If the child is to have adequate facilities for the formation of socially acceptable behaviour, it needs a place, play-mates and play materials. For a time the neighbourhood remains the child's entire universe.

Children brought up in the slums suffer from lack of facilities for play and for recreational outlets. They come from poor families and the commonest symptoms observed in them were general weakness because of under nutrition, irritability, early onset of fatigue, begging, stealing and sex activities. It is found that children from the slums spend more time in the company of adults and indulge in adult activities. "Adult loafers and delinquents and prostitutes are in abundance and apt to initiate unsupervised and uncritical children into the practices of begging, stealing and sex activities." One way of checking this evil is by opening out extensive parks and play-grounds within the reach of the slum children. Recreation centres and clubs for the promotion of healthy habits run on strictly psycho-biological lines should be started.

Children from the noisy, business and industrial centres suffer from frequent changes of location, the families of such children living in uncongenial environment. "All noise, No silence" is a bad policy for children. These children coming from low-income families are never unoccupied. The parents prefer to have them to help in their bread-winning task. It is no wonder that these children suffer from lack of initiative, less eagerness to do work, truant wanderings, day-dreaming, and hypochondriacal complaints. Neighbourhood contact is usually the child's first lesson in extra-domestic social structure. To the child living near the liquor shops and gambling houses, the world looks altogether different from the way it appears to the more fortunate child. The parents' relation to the neighbourhood has its influences on the types of behaviour pattern of their children—anti-social tendencies like stealing, cruelty, lying, truancy and gang activities.

Thus anti-social behaviour is the manifestation of the inter-action of the child and its environment. Sometimes the treatment lies in improving or altering if possible undesirable environmental factors and sometimes the treatment is to be directed towards the child. The establishment of child guidance clinics, mental hygiene propaganda and the education of the parents are the only means of preventing behaviour and personality difficulties in children. "The hygiene of the child's mind is as important as the hygiene of its body and both are studies for the doctor. Educate the parents not merely in higher mathematics or economics but in elements of physiology and psychology, and educate the general practitioner and the dogmatic surgeon not to be suspicious or intolerant of psychology and mental hygiene."

## INFANT MORTALITY AND ITS CONTROL

B. M. DUBASH

The high rate of infant mortality in our country still continues to be a challenge to the Public Health Authorities. In this essay which was awarded the Dr. B. S. Shroff Memorial Gold Medal of the Bombay Medical Union, Dr. (Mrs.) Dubash points out that the general ignorance, bad social customs, the *dais* system, neglect of the mother's health and malnutrition are the important causes of neonatal and postnatal deaths. According to her what is required is not merely an effective drive against these causes but also "the education of the vast masses of parents who should be made to realize their responsibility to their infants in particular and the nation in general".

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**F**OR centuries together mankind has struggled against the forces of evil and darkness, against superstition and ignorance. In that struggle many have gone down fighting, most others have adopted the attitude of destiny and fatality whilst only a few, a microscopic few, have withstood all hardship, all misery, and tried to bring their fellow creatures out of the darkness of ignorance, superstition and filth into the light of knowledge and cleanliness.

Thus it is not very surprising that even in the twentieth century so little has been undertaken and achieved in India on the question of mortality in infants and children. Although much has been said and written on the subject by various authorities and institutions who work for the welfare and well-being of the new-born still they have not been in a position to tackle this very important national, nay, international problem, in a satisfactory manner. They have not been able to bring about a satisfactory lowering of the infant mortality rate, as is needed at the present time, in a world which has advanced socially, industrially and economically far beyond any one's dreams. The above is found to be true especially in India where the infant mortality rate as compared with that in other parts of the world is very high

The infant mortality rate is calculated in a different manner from that of the general death rate, the former by the number of infants that die under one year of age for every 1,000 births per year whereas the latter, which includes children over one year of age as well, is calculated on the general population. The reason for this is that the exact number of infants born or dead is known by registration which is not possible at present in India since registration is not being done on a sound and proper basis.

It may be admitted that deaths can be better registered than births. In spite of various means adopted by different authorities and institutions registration is still very defective in all parts of the subcontinent of India. Various reasons may be ascribed to the same. First of all, the men who are employed for this job are mostly part-time. They are obtained generally from amongst the uneducated or partly educated classes who have very little or no idea of responsibility and thoroughness which is essential for a job of this magnitude involving the health and the very life of a nation. Secondly, the public also, because of its secretive and superstitious habits as regards births, deaths, etc., do not co-operate as desired with the authorities concerned. Thirdly, registration is not strictly compulsory in all parts of India; and where it is compulsory, there is no proper legislation by which the defaulters could be prosecuted and made to understand their duties and responsibilities as citizens and human beings.

Births escape registration far more easily than deaths because people migrate from villages to towns and cities, and swell the infant mortality rate of the latter whilst avoiding the registration of births unknowingly or otherwise. Besides the defective registration, another factor for the high mortality amongst infants is that their birth rate is also very high as is seen by the records of the Public Health Commissioner which are 34, 35, 36 birth rate per mille respectively for the years 1934, 1935 and 1936.

Taking into consideration the above facts, we can remedy the first evil by stricter and adequate registration, and the second by a lower birth rate. In these days of stress and strain, of great hardships and stringent economic conditions, the parents have begun to realise their responsibilities to their children in particular and to the country in general; and as they cannot afford to support large families with the meagre means at their disposal, naturally the birth rate must fall in time. In this connection one may quote Professor Karl Pearson and others who believe and regard the production of unhealthy infants as eugenically unsound, and think that infant mortality is Nature's way of removing the unfit and the unwanted. This may be true, but in my humble opinion, we should not try to reduce the population by this crude method.

Whatever may be the case, it is a proved fact that our infant mortality rate is very high, especially in these days of civilization, culture and understanding. The Special Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Health in their Report (1938) on Maternity and Child Welfare Work in India, give the average quinquennial infant mortality in British India as 2'8 times more than that of England.

*Means and ratios of infant mortality rates of British India and  
England and Wales*

Mean of		India	England & Wales	Ratio
1912-16	...	204	102	2'0
1917-21	...	217	89	2'4
1922-26	...	181	73	2'5
1927-31	...	170	67	2'6
1932-36	...	173	61	2'8

The average quinquennial infant mortality in British India, in spite of an appreciable fall (as seen from the above table) since 1912, is now 2'8 times that of England and Wales; although during the first quinquennium given above, it was only twice as high. The rate of fall has, therefore, been slower than that of England and Wales.

For the year 1937, the Public Health Commissioner records the infant mortality rate as 161'7 per thousand live births in British India, whereas the Health Officer of Bombay for the same year gives the rate as 245'0 per thousand live births in the city of Bombay. From the report of Lane Claypon (1920), as shown in the table below, it will be seen that the number of deaths under one year of age per 1,000 births in England and Wales for the years 1891-95 was 151 and that for the year 1918 was 97.

Year		Infant mortality rate	Birth rate
1891-1895	...	151	30'5
1896-1900	...	156	29'3
1901-1905	...	138	28'2
1906-1910	...	117	26'3
1913	...	107	28'0
1916	...	91	21'6
1917	...	97	17'8
1918	...	97	17'7

From this it appears that the two rates must be closely associated. It is true, but if one sees for a moment one will find that the fall is not parallel, the birth rate having fallen more rapidly than the infant mortality rate. One can hardly realize what they must have done to bring the death rate amongst infants as low as the above. Even for the year 1937, they have done better, and quote the infant mortality rate as low as 59. They must not have left any stone unturned to achieve the result. How many amongst us, being aware of the above, lift up our finger and raise our voice to try and improve the conditions already prevailing in India.

Child mortality is said to be commonly accompanied by a high rate of mortality amongst infants. It was found that though a disease does not kill an infant in its first year of life, it leaves it maimed, and so it is more likely to catch infection and die from it within the first five or ten years of its life. The mortality (for British India) from 1-10 years of the child's life during 1936 was 23'4; whereas that of England and Wales during 1934 was 12'1. For the whole period from 0-10 years, the death rate amongst children in India is four times as high as that in England. Practically half the children born in India, do not survive the fifth year of their lives. Below are given for comparison, in a tabular form, the observations of the Special Committee (1938) of the Central Advisory Board of Health, regarding the mortality rate for children under 10 years at different age periods for British India in 1936 and the corresponding rates for England and Wales in 1934 :—

	Percentage of total deaths under 1 year	Percentage of total deaths during 1-5 years	Percentage of total deaths during 5-10 years	Percentage of total deaths
England and Wales	7'3	3'2	1'6	12'1
British India	... 25'4	17'9	5'4	48'8

From the above it is noted also that the child mortality rates at different age periods are from 3-5 times higher in India than in England. For the whole period of 0-10 years, the death rate amongst children in India is 4 times as high as that in England. The above facts should open our eyes and make us realize the appalling conditions prevailing in India as regards the infant mortality rate. Being an eye-opener they should guide us in establishing more and more infant and child welfare centres and clinics in cities, towns and villages, working for the welfare and well-being of the life and soul of the nation. But this idea of reducing infant mortality should not mean that we should wait till the baby is born in this world to face all sorts of vicissitudes and then take measures. We should go a step further in reducing the infant mortality rate by looking after the condition and welfare of the creator of the baby, namely, the mother, who bears the burden for many months, by introducing into the activities of child welfare work, the programme of antenatal care.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF ANTENATAL CONDITIONS ON INFANT MORTALITY

McCleary says (1933) that antenatal conditions have an important influence on infant mortality, and mentions that this is not a new idea. It had long been thought that the health of the mother before and during pregnancy had a direct influence upon the health of the unborn child. The study of this aspect of infant mortality was quickened by the publication of

Dr. Ballantyne's *Manual of Antenatal Pathology and Hygiene* as early as 1902. Ballantyne brought into prominence the important part played by antenatal causes, including parental alcoholism, in swelling the infantile mortality rate and also lessening the birth rate. He also mentions and lays stress on the fact that from the third month onward, the infant is brought into close relation, nay ever closer contact with its mother. The placenta, amongst its other functions, acts also as a filter, and elements of foetal tissues such as bone, muscle and foetal fluids as blood, lymph are transmitted by the placenta from the mother's blood to the foetus.

It does not follow that the elements pass in the same chemical combinations as those in which they are afterwards found in the foetus. When, however, the filtering function breaks down, germs, toxins, toxic substances, etc., flow across the foetus. When this happens, various effects may be produced. The foetus may die at once from the action of the poison, or it may develop a disease in a form different from that which is found in the mother, or the pregnancy may end in abortion or in the later stages of gestation, in premature births, and the infant may develop the disease after birth and either die or recover from it maimed for life. The other evil effect that the failure of the filter may have on the infant is the production of malformations, deformities and monstrosities.

Ballantyne further says there are three ways in which antenatal morbid conditions may influence infantile life and health. • The first by the production of abortions ; the second by influencing premature births which tend to swell the infantile death rate ; and the third by the production of fatal diseases and deformities. The last factor of disease and deformity may produce various results, *e.g.*, the infant may be very precarious and the deformity such as harelip, or cleft palate may occur and render feeding difficult. Similarly congenital heart disease increases to a great extent the risk of developing bronchitis or pneumonia in the infant. Lastly, any grave condition like hyperemesis in the mother, who is the be all and the end all of the infant at this stage of pregnancy, interferes seriously with the development of the infant in the uterus and so the infant later on suffers from congenital debility.

. Thus the antenatal morbid condition has a great influence on the infant during its intra-uterine existence, first as an impregnated ovum, next as an embryo and then as a foetus. Even after it is born, it has to cope with and adapt itself to different environments and sudden changes which have an weakening effect on its individuality which either disable it for life or end its existence in the very beginning or at the very early period of its life. The greatest infant mortality is observed in the first month of life, especially in the first week of the first month, This is confirmed by the

Health Officer's Report for the year 1937, tabulated below :—

*Table of deaths amongst infants by age period in 1937*

Age period		No. of deaths	Percentage of deaths in age period to the total deaths under 1 year of age	
Under 7 days	...	1,850	...	21'4
1 to 4 weeks	...	1,354	...	15'6
4 weeks to 6 months	...	2,371	...	27'2
6 months to 12 months	...	3,113	...	35'8
Total	...	8,688	...	100'0

The mortality amongst infants at the end of the first month of life was thus 3,204 or 37'0 per cent of the total infant deaths, as seen from the above report.

The question has often been asked why the infant succumbs so early as in its first month and specially in the first week of the first month of life; but little has been done and very little achieved in solving the problem. I think that, if antenatal work is well advertized and given all the importance it so richly deserves, and if adequate and thorough midwifery services are set up everywhere, the number of deaths occurring so early in life would begin to fall; and we would have the satisfaction of achieving an atom of the gigantic task staring us in the face. Our suggestion is supported by Dr. Syke's investigations. His analysis of the infant mortality statistics led him to the conclusion that in order to diminish infant mortality it was necessary, nay, essential, "to ameliorate, firstly, the prenatal conditions and secondly, the postnatal conditions, and that during both these periods efforts should be first exhausted upon the mother before confining the attention to the infant."

In trying to reduce infant mortality rate in India, the greatest stumbling block is that there is no proper supervision of delivery cases by trained people in many parts of India, even in large towns and cities. The old practice of getting confinement cases nursed by the indigenous *dais* is still in vogue and full swing, though not so much in cities and towns as in the villages and outlying districts. The idea of antenatal examination is quite strange to them; and they take it as a new-fangled idea of someone's vivid imagination, and a pollution and a sacrilege.

In my yearly rounds for the past few years which gave me an opportunity of visiting about a hundred villages in and around the Bombay Presidency, I have come to the conclusion that the methods adopted by these so called "Barber-Midwives" in dealing with cases under their care, are abominable and leave much for real improvement. At one place, a *dai* was actually tearing the thin cervical wall with her long dirty nails, as the head was taking a long

time in coming out. This showed that either she had no patience to wait or that she wanted to show the relatives of the patient that she was doing some work for the reward she was expecting.

Another incident was that of a multipara (third pregnancy) which was being attended to by an untrained *dai*, just next door to our place in the village where we were staying. It was a breech presentation, and as the *dai* was actually having a tug-of-war with the after-coming head, the mother-in-law of the patient came to call us. On enquiry it was found that the two previous deliveries were also attended to by the same *dai* and the infants had died soon after birth in both the cases. This time too, if it were not for our presence there in the village at the critical moment, the infant would have been born asphyxiated and would have died soon after birth. At one out-of-the-way village in the district we found the deliveries being conducted by an absolutely blind *dai*, in whom the people of the village had so much faith, that in spite of there being two other trained *dais* nearby in the village, more cases were handled by her than the other two. Such being the condition of things in India, it is little wonder that infant mortality rate still remains high.

The Health Officer of Bombay gives in his report for the year 1937, the figure of mothers dying during child-birth as 165 out of which 49 deaths are from puerperal sepsis, which is the highest figure for any other disease of the puerperal state as may be seen from the figures given below :—

Number	Specific causes of death				No. of deaths
1.	Antepartum hæmorrhage	...	...		7
2.	Postpartum hæmorrhage	...	...		23
3.	Toxæmias (Eclampsia, hyperemesis, a.y.a. alb.)...				32
4.	Puerperal sepsis (sapræmia, septicæmia, P.A.D., coli infection, etc.)		...		49
5.	Embolism	...	...	...	4
6.	Shock during or immediately after delivery	...			7
7.	Anæmia of pregnancy	...	...	...	15
8.	Malaria, influenza, pneumonia, T.B., heart diseases, complication of pregnancy	...	...		nil
9.	Operative interference	...	...	...	1
10.	Rupture of the uterus	...	...	...	4
11.	Puerperal insanity	...	...	...	1
12.	Other causes	...	...	...	22

This shows what havoc is played amongst pregnant mothers by these indigenous *dais*, and the reason for the maintenance of the high infantile



mortality rate which would become less if the practice of these *dais* were under a stricter control or stopped altogether.

The other factor that brings high infant mortality rate is the social custom of keeping a case of confinement with the new-born babe in an absolutely dark and dingy room, where the woman and her baby are not allowed to have the day light for 20-40 days at a stretch. From this dark and unhealthy environment one cannot expect any other result than a poor weakly rickety sort of a child, and a weak and frightfully anæmic mother. If the infant happens to survive in spite of its weak and poor condition, it is liable to get some other disease soon, and die from it either in its first year or within the first five years of its life. Again, if it is fortunate enough and able enough to fight that disease still further and survive, then it will remain maimed or invalid throughout its life.

From the above it will be seen that infant morbidity is closely related to infant mortality. These weaklings growing up to an adult age and not being able to discharge their duties as normal citizens become a burden not only to themselves, their parents and families, but ultimately even to their country. This was found to be true during the war of 1914-18, when young men were wanted as recruits, and a large number of them were found unfit because they were suffering from one ailment or the other as a result of the preventable diseases of infancy and childhood. If these defects had been corrected and nipped in the bud, the generation would have turned out to be much healthier and it would have been a real credit to the country.

In order to become a healthy nation, towards which all the countries of the world are at the present time striving, we must first of all try and find out the various causes of infant morbidity and mortality. Besides the predisposing factors such as ignorance, superstition, poverty, overcrowding and religious and social customs there are many more which, owing to lack of proper statistics and records, are very ill-defined. As already stated deaths are not certified regularly by medical practitioners in the different parts of India ; and the infant or child may have died without any medical attendance. So, exact causes of infant deaths are not to be had for statistical purposes. Although the death certificates in most cases state the causes of deaths as "diarrhœa", "general weakness", "fevers", "convulsions", etc., still these, being only the symptoms of certain diseases, indicate nothing. The notification of births within 36 hours of their occurrence, if made compulsory as in England and other countries, will go a long way in finding out not only the proper cause of infantile mortality but also the means for reducing the infantile mortality rate.

It is found to be true that hospitals do not keep the delivery cases for

more than 10 days ; and sometimes they even discharge them within 7 days, owing to scarcity of beds, or some other reason. These new-born babes are put on the right path of good health and future well-being for the first 10 days when they are in the hospital or are under proper medical supervision ; and they begin to deviate from the above path during the remaining 355 days of their first year of life. Is this deviation caused by the lack of medical guidance and supervision or by the want of proper economic and environmental conditions at home ? The answer is found in the Report of the Public Health Commissioner for the year 1938, in which he writes that "investigation of the clinical causes of death in infancy and childhood is much to be desired, but it must be recognised that accurate diagnosis of the clinical cause of death may be of less moment from the view point of saving life than a knowledge of the social, economic and environmental conditions which react on the child's health from the day of its birth."

For investigation purposes, the causes of deaths may be divided according to age periods: (1) Within the first month; (2) the other 11 months, *i.e.*, (i) neonatal and (ii) postnatal periods respectively.

#### NEONATAL DEATHS AND THEIR CAUSES

The largest figures for neonatal deaths relate to two main varieties of causes: 1. Infantile debility, malformation, prematurity, etc. 2. Careless midwifery causing infection (particularly due to confinements attended to by indigenous *dais* or midwives) and birth injuries.

*Prematurity and Infantile Debility.*—Besides the general illness in the mother, during antenatal period, it has been found that in many cases of prematurity no exact cause can be traced. Such cases are usually found in primiparas, and here prematurity came into prominence as one of the most important causes of neonatal deaths. This was shown by the steady rise of the mortality rate in England, from 12·8 in 1876 to 19·9 in 1900. This 19·9 per 1,000 births in 1900 was out of a total mortality of 154. At first it was attributed to the employment of married women in factories and workshops ; but this hypothesis received no support from later investigations.

• In Chicago, Bundesen and others found, in a series of post mortem examinations (1938) on 911 infants, out of which 600 were premature ones and the remaining 311 were full-term infants, that, in 320 premature and 42 fullterm ones making a total of 362 infants, no demonstrable pathological condition could be noted.

In India, specially in Bombay, Nerurker in his Report (1934) mentions about the steady rise of neonatal deaths from premature births and gives the very significant percentages for the years 1901 to 1932 which are as follows :—

		<i>Cause : Prematurity</i>							
		1901-	1906-	1911-	1916-				
Year ...		1905	1910	1915	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
Percentage		5'3	8'6	9'5	17'0	24.5	21'7	20'3	24'4
Year ...		1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932
Percentage		19'7	27'9	21'9	19'0	24'0	21'7	25'8	25'4

The Health Officer of Bombay in his Report for the year 1937 records 906 as premature infants out of 8,688 infant deaths; and the Special Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Health in their Report on maternity and child-welfare work in India give the figures in percentages for prematurity for the three presidencies of Bombay, Bengal and Madras as 16'1, 17'5 and 12'7 respectively. Balfour in her investigation (1930) in the Urbs Prima in India on all prematurely born infants and infants with weight below 4 lbs. at birth mentions that out of every 1,000 prematurely born infants, 840 died within the first 3 months. Dr. Christine Thomson's inquiry also confirms the above statement and shows that prematurity is a very common factor for still-births and neonatal deaths amongst infants in India.

Similarly, the largest figures (shown in the table below) of the chief causes of mortality in infants in the City of Bombay during the years 1932-36, prepared by the Special Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Health, relate to two groups of causes (1) "debility, malformation and premature birth" and (2) "respiratory diseases". Of these groups the first, namely prematurity, takes the greatest toll specially within the first month or even the first week of life.

		1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
All Causes	...	6,298	8,320	8,253	8,455	8,946
1. Small pox	...	69	717	33	306	214
2. Measles	...	16	18	27	60	42
3. Malaria	...	4	9	9	9	3
4. Remittent and undefined fever		147	167	186	146	114
5. Diarrhoea and enteritis	...	280	414	455	425	539
6. Dysentery	...	27	19	40	41	48
7. Debility, malformations and premature births	...	2,685	3,019	3,384	3,280	3,651
8. Respiratory diseases	...	2,217	2,828	2,983	3,039	3,174
9. Convulsions	...	422	594	562	563	683
10. Other causes	...	431	535	574	586	478

The above statement is verified by the following figures taken from the Bombay City Health Report for the year 1936. This Report also shows that the percentages for the first group, namely, prematurity, debility, etc., decline progressively as the infant grows older whilst those of the second group,

namely, respiratory diseases, steadily go on increasing.

Groups	Age Periods			
	Under 1 wk.	1 to 4 wks.	4 wks. to 6 months	6 to 12 months
I. Prematurity, infantile debility, malformation etc. ...	88·3	75·6	22·4	4·7
II. Respiratory diseases etc. ...	1·0	3·8	46·7	67·2

*Careless Midwifery Causing Infection and Birth-injuries.*—This is another most important cause of neonatal deaths amongst infants, specially so in India because of the traditional methods of confinements conducted by “Barber Midwives”, as they are called, or indigenous midwives or *dais*. These untrained *dais* are very largely responsible for the maintenance of the high infant mortality rate due to their unskilful handling of confinement cases which come under their care owing to the ignorance and superstition of the teeming masses of India. This practice by *dais* still goes on, nay, even thrives in most parts of India, as the profession has been perpetuated by the ignorant people who have more faith in their old *dais*, rather than in the trained midwives.

The Lady Wilson Village Maternity Association, which was giving all the facilities for training these *dais* in the Bombay Presidency, had to close down because more deaths from infection and birth injuries were found to occur at the hands of these semi-trained *dais*. These left their good training and cleanly habits behind and followed the old trends and habits handed down to them by the seniors of their profession as soon as they were out of the control, supervision and guidance of the Association. The *dais* trained by the above Association were provided with a simple outfit which consisted of an aluminium bowl with a lid which served the double purpose of keeping the whole outfit in it, as well as that of sterilizing the pair of scissors and cord ligatures, etc. A soap box with a cake of antiseptic soap was also furnished with the above.

In spite of good instruction, advice and care, some of these *dais* were found by me, in one of my village visits, using the empty soap-box as a snuff-box and the aluminium bowl for keeping onions, chillies and other vegetables. It was a thoroughly disappointing state of affairs, and I think that, as this profession goes on in certain families as an heirloom from one generation to the other, these *dais* prefer to follow the advice of their old mothers or mothers-in-law rather than take the good and careful training given them, with the result that infant mortality rate remains high in India.

Also the deaths due to sepsis and tetanus will continue till the untrained *dais* practice exists amongst us. The Health Officer of Bombay gives the figure for tetanus as 121 and birth injuries as 38 out of 8,688 infant deaths in the year 1937. Before proceeding to the causes of postnatal deaths it would not be

out of place to mention here about the articles in the *Lancet*, May, 1940, by McNeil. In a series of articles on infant mortality he says that the neonatal deaths as determined by necropsy are divided into three main groups: (1) intracranial hæmorrhage, (2) infections, (3) a miscellaneous group made up of asphyxia, congenital defects and other conditions; these three groups contribute equally to the infant mortality rate. After studying the neonatal deaths in a large Maternity Hospital, he classifies the causes under two categories: the first one which is responsible for deaths during the first two weeks after birth and the second one for deaths during the second fortnight. In the former he mentions congenital defects, asphyxia, intracranial hæmorrhage and infection; and behind some of these again, important predisposing conditions such as maternal disease in pregnancy, difficulty in labour and, the most important of all, prematurity are also mentioned.

*Postnatal Deaths.*—Bad housing conditions, such as over-crowding, dinginess, etc., are more closely related to postnatal rather than neonatal death. Bad environment and overcrowding along with the preventable diseases such as gastroenteritis, pneumonia are the chief causes of postnatal deaths.

*Overcrowding.*—The Health Officer of Bombay in his Annual Report for the year 1937 says that out of 8,688 total number of deaths amongst infants, 6,823 or 78·5 per cent occurred in families living alone in a single room or sharing it with others, and out of 35,455 births registered in the year, 24,967 or 70·4 per cent of births occurred in families living alone in a single room or sharing it with others. He also states that the rate of deaths amongst infants in a single room tenement per 1,000 births in such tenements during the year was 273 as against 272 in the year 1936; and that the proportion of deaths to births varies inversely as the number of rooms occupied by the parents. This is seen from the table shown below :—

INFANT MORTALITY BY THE NUMBER OF ROOMS OCCUPIED  
FOR THE YEAR 1937

<i>Number of rooms</i>	<i>Births</i>		<i>Deaths in infants</i>		<i>Infant mortality per 1,000 births registered</i>	
	No.	%	No.	%	1936	1937
Roadside	...	...	29	0·3	...	...
One room and under	... 24,967	70·4	6,823	78·5	272	273
Two rooms	... 6,051	17·1	1,298	14·9	235	214
Three rooms	... 1,483	4·2	319	3·7	231	215
Four or more rooms	... 1,473	4·1	141	1·7	98	95
Information not available	... 1,481	4·2	78	0·9	55	52
Total	... 35,455	100·0	8,688	100·0		

Campbell in her Report (1929) on infant mortality published for the Ministry of Health, London, also confirms the above statement saying that postnatal deaths come on an average from more overcrowded parts of a district, rather than from thinly populated areas. Regarding the economic conditions, the general idea or the myth as to the close relationship between poverty and high infantile mortality has been firmly negated by the Ministry of Health, London. In their latest report they mention that the intermediate class of skilled labour has the lowest mortality and the upper middle class and the lowest class of unskilled labour have the highest, showing that the health and well-being of the infants depends to a great extent on the intelligence and efficiency of the parents in rearing them. We cannot be so optimistic as regards conditions prevailing in India where ignorance, superstition and parental neglect undermine the health and the well-being of the new born, and help in maintaining the high infant-mortality rate.

*Pneumonia*.—In the highest number of deaths due to other causes pneumonia takes precedence. Out of 8,688 infantile deaths in 1937, as mentioned above in Bombay, 3,191 or 36 per cent of deaths were from pneumonia alone. Of these 3,191 deaths, 2,025 or 62 per cent of deaths occurred in the second 6 months of life. There are many reasons for this death rate which is higher in the latter half of the year as compared to the first half. The first reason, I think, is that the infant has much rapid growth in the first 6 months of its life as is seen by the increase in its weight during that period when it exactly doubles its weight, an achievement which it is never able to repeat in its whole life-time. The second reason seems to be the change in its diet between the 9th and the 12th month of its life.

An attack of measles generally precedes the attack of pneumonia which either leaves the infant very weak or kills it. In our country no proper care is taken regarding diet and warm clothing due to poverty, social custom and superstition. The ideas about clothing amongst mothers attending our clinics and welfare centres are as quaint as they were some years back. The uneducated mother finds great difficulty in grasping the point that clothing must be suitable to the weather and to the time of the day. "A cool head and warm feet" must be the ideal that should be drilled into their ears, year in and year out, yet just the opposite has been noted to be in practice among attending mothers. How many babes with "weak chest", which they get after measles or after an attack of pneumonia, attend our clinics morning and evening underfed and underdressed! I think that before they get such "weak chest", and soon after an attack of measles or pneumonia is over, if proper care is taken by giving the infants cod-liver oil and milk, along with the use of warm clothings, many cases of bronchitis

and pneumonia, which often end fatally, could be prevented and infant mortality reduced to minimum.

*Marasmus and General Debility.*—This is another cause of the high mortality rate amongst infants. It is not a disease by itself, but a symptom-complex of many diseases. Its causes are congenital syphilis, malnutrition, overcrowding and bad hygiene. It is more common amongst artificially fed babies than the breast-fed ones and thus is more commonly seen in the upper and middle class babies than amongst the poorer class. The parents of the former classes of babies can afford to give their offsprings patent foods, artificial aids, etc., which the parents of the latter class can ill-afford to their good fortune. Marasmus, unfortunately, gives another big figure of 2,454 infant deaths out of 8,688 in Bombay for the year 1957 and thus comes second in the series. If only the nursing mothers were aware of this, they would not so easily and readily resort to artificial feeding. Nothing but starvation and unnecessary weaning in the case of the poor, and neglect and giving of too many patent foods in the case of the well-to-do bring on the above symptom-complex with its high infantile mortality rate.

*Diarrhœa and Enteritis.*—If mothers were not to think of this symptom so lightly as they do at present, many deaths from diarrhœa could be prevented. These mothers usually take for granted that diarrhœa is due to "teething", specially if it occurs in the second 6 months of life. When simple diarrhœa becomes infective and takes a very heavy toll of life amongst infants, then only people realise the real value of its prevention. The question of feeding takes a very important part in the occurrence of this disease. It is obvious that diarrhœa is more common amongst artificially fed babies than breast-fed ones.

The causes of diarrhoea are easily traced. Firstly, the food given to the child may not be suitable. Secondly, cleanliness in feeding may be wanting. Since all the conveniences of artificial feeding, such as bottles, teats, varieties of tinned milk, etc., are found in the market, even our Indian mothers have been tempted to give up breast-feeding on one pretext or the other. Very few mothers realize that breast-feeding is the baby's birth right of which it should not be deprived in the interests of its health and well-being in later life. In my opinion, the Health Visitors in various clinics and centres should spend a lot of time in teaching the mothers, attending their clinics or those they come across on their rounds, the great benefits derived from breast-feeding; and also impress upon them that their babies' health, nay, even their very lives, are in their own hands to make or mar.

Speaking about superstition one may mention that when a mother loses one or two of her babies due to smallpox or some other disease she wrongly

attributes the death to her breast-milk and her neighbours often lead her into this belief. She is led to think that tinned milk is much better than her own. Similarly, the giving of cow's milk to the new-born babies by their mothers, before the third day, inspite of the infant's vomiting showing that it does not need it, also gives rise to ailments like indigestion and diarrhœa. Here one may quote Cadogan who says, "If we follow Nature, instead of leading or driving it, we cannot err . . . When a child is first born, there seems to be no provision at all made for it; for the mother's milk seldom comes till the third day; so that according to Nature, a child would be left a day and a half or two days without any food is to me a very sufficient proof that it wants none." Diarrhœa may be found sometimes in breast-fed babies as well. Here the cause has been attributed to the wrong method of feeding. Such babies are found to be fed at odd hours of the day and night. I think that this is a very good point to be stressed upon and dinned into the ears of mothers whilst giving a health-talk on "feeding by the clock". It is not difficult to see that with such irregular habits breast-fed infants suffer from indigestion and diarrhœa. The researches of Budin showed that a great fall in infantile death-rate occurred in nearly all towns where a "milk-depot" and "infant consultation" had been established. The fall was found to be mainly in deaths from diarrhœal diseases, generally traceable to feeding of infants with contaminated food or to some other source of direct or indirect bacterial infection.

Ballard in his investigations reached an important conclusion that diarrhœa did not select weaklings exclusively as its victims. He ascertained the previous state of health of 332 children who died in the epidemics of 1881 and 1882 in England. "Of these, 141 or 42·5 per cent were recorded healthy, and some of them had been remarkably so from their birth until the fatal illness commenced. The remaining 191 or 57·5 per cent had been either weakly from birth or having been born healthy and remained so for a longer or shorter time, had been subsequently weakened by disease antecedently to their fatal diarrhœal attack."

"Epidemic diarrhœa", like 'enteric fever' is a 'filthy disease'. Its victims die because they swallow contaminated food, usually contaminated milk. In spite of all the 'legal barriers' and strictest 'health regulations' as regards the stabling of animals, milk is even to-day contaminated in many of our large towns by unscrupulous traders who dilute it with dirty water and carry it from place to place in an open can with some straw in it. This contrasts with the system prevailing in most of the rural areas of India where milk is supplied directly to the consumer by milking the animal at his very door, thus preventing much unnecessary handling and contamination.



Because of this there are less cases of diarrhoea in infants in villages than in towns. Diarrhoea in infants is also found to be very common during the rainy days in the summer, i.e., during the months from May to September. In Bombay during the year 1937, 58 per cent of infants died in the above five months. Again, 59 per cent died in the first six months of their life; and 41 per cent in the second six months from diarrhoea in the same year.

If mothers were given the right advice and guidance by our welfare workers, the staff of well-established hospitals, the painstaking and conscientious general practitioners on the right lines of feeding and care of their babies, then the cases of diarrhoea and other infections would be much lowered and their fatal results prevented. In all medical schools and colleges, the pupils are taught about the various advantages of human milk and its great value in preventing infant diseases; but have they been taught about the difficulties that some mothers find in giving breast-milk to their infants, and how to deal with them? As long as the mothers remain in the hospitals, i.e., for the first ten days or so of their confinement, they learn regular and correct methods of feeding their infants; but later on when they return home, this important supervision and care is neglected with disastrous results as mentioned above. Breast-feeding is a very complicated process, and is not so simple as it appears. Infant deaths from diarrhoea amongst breast-fed infants would not occur at all if the young and inexperienced mothers were not foolishly led away by the old custom and habit of feeding "whenever the baby cries". From this discussion it is clear how entirely preventable is diarrhoea in infants.

*Smallpox.*—In the above series of causes, smallpox also takes a very heavy toll of infant lives. Here again, the high infant death rate could be prevented, if the Public Health Authorities were to be more strict in the matters relating to vaccination. In the year 1937, 165 infantile deaths were from smallpox, out of which 103 were between 6 and 12 months of age the remaining 62 being under 6 months of age. Out of this total of 165 infant deaths from smallpox, 150 were non-vaccinated cases. This shows the importance and value of vaccination not only in preventing smallpox but also in checking its fatal results. The general idea is that vaccination is harmful in the case of babies under six months of age. The same view is rampant amongst many members of our profession. I do not see in what way it is harmful. The results achieved at the present time speak for themselves and show that vaccination will stand the test of time.

*Diphtheria and Other Diseases.*—In this series the death rate is as follows:—Eleven deaths were due to diphtheria, out of which seven were in the second half of the first year of life. Eighty-three deaths were registered from dysentery. The truth of this statement is very doubtful, for cases of diarrhoea

with slimy stools are very often diagnosed as dysentery cases even in hospitals where all the facilities for examining the stools are available. We are told in our college days not to regard a case as one of dysentery unless examination of stools has been done thoroughly ; yet the same mistake is committed by the general practitioner year in and year out, either due to carelessness or lack of time and patience. Four deaths have been noted due to lung tuberculosis and twelve from other tuberculous diseases. Lung tuberculosis is found to be very rare among infants. Congenital syphilis is known to be another cause of infant deaths. As many as 19 deaths from this cause have been noted within the first six months of age in the Health Officer's Report for the year 1937.

#### CHILD MORTALITY

As already mentioned in the earlier part of the article, child mortality at different age periods are 3 to 5 times higher in India than in England. A high infant mortality rate goes *pari passu* with a high death-rate in the later ages of child-life as those infants who happen to pass over the critical stage of any illness remain very weak and become more liable to infection in their later lives. The Health Officer, Bombay, gives the percentages to the total mortality by age-periods in 1935, 1936, 1937 as follows :—

Age Period	Total Mortality					
	1935		1936		1937	
Under 1 year	8,455	28·9%	8,946	29·9%	8,688	28·2%
1 to 5 years	5,537	19·0%	5,340	17·8%	5,740	18·7%
5 to 10 years	882	3·0%	870	2·9%	1,029	3·3%

Although the total is much less in children between 5 and 10 years of age, still the figures for other age-periods are found to be steady in these three years. This is so, firstly, because the children at these different age-periods suffer from various infectious diseases like smallpox, measles, etc., more than those at an early age. Secondly, that, from this age, *i.e.*, between 1 and 2 years and also between 2 and 5 years, the children move about more amongst themselves and are not so much in contact with their mothers as the infants and babies in arms. Thirdly, because they change their diet from liquid to solid food thus rendering themselves more liable to infection and other diseases. It is from the infectious diseases alone that they suffer more than the infants and the babies in arms ; otherwise, diseases like pneumonia, diarrhoea and gastroenteritis show the same percentage of mortality.

Ague and remittent fever are causes to which children between the age periods of 2 and 5, and 5 and 10 years are prone to fall victims easily. This rate is found to be a little more in the latter period, *i.e.*, between 5 and 10

years, rather than in the former. 98 deaths occurred from the above cause amongst children between 5 and 10 years of age, and 85 deaths between 2 and 5 years of age as shown in the report of the Health Officer, Bombay. Since the above diseases are all preventable in one way or the other, why cannot we do something and prevent this high rate of mortality ?

#### MEASURES TO CONTROL MORTALITY IN INFANTS AND CHILDREN

For the control of this high mortality amongst infants and children, steps were taken in Western countries, as early as the seventies and eighties of the last century. The public health measures undertaken then were followed by a great fall in the general death-rate, although the infant mortality rate remained the same. Many countries started the Child Welfare Work in various forms, France taking the lead in establishing the first "Infant Consultation" in 1875. During the ten years, specially 1890-1900, there appeared in France an agency which proved to be the most important element in the Infant Welfare Movement. This was the "Consultation de Nourrissons" for the question of feeding the infant and the child. With this agency Professor Budin's name will always be cherished. Milk depots were started by him, and clean and healthy milk was supplied to feed mothers with poor or scanty breast-milk. The milk was supplied at different rates as (1) paying, (2) half-paying and (3) free. Thus mothers and children from various walks of life and of varying ages were helped a great deal by this movement. Then in the year 1894, Dr. Dufour started what he called "Gout de Lait", the chief object of which was the systematic medical supervision of infants and the encouragement of breast-feeding by mothers and the supply of specially prepared cow's milk for those infants who could not be fed at the breast for one reason or the other.

In New York, Straus' attention was first directed to the subject by the heavy infant mortality during the years 1890-1892. He found this to be largely due to diseases of the digestive system. He concluded from his investigations that the most immediately effective method of prevention would be "to place milk suited for infant nutriment within the reach of the poor."

Amongst the steps undertaken to reduce infant mortality rate in England, as early as 1837, registration of all infants within 42 days after their birth became obligatory on the part of the parent. In 1860, home-visiting by voluntary workers was first thought of in Manchester. Investigations and enquiries in epidemic diarrhoea were also undertaken in the year 1892. The First National Congress on Infant Mortality was held by Britain in 1906. Dr. Ballantyne recommended the provision of prematernity wards in maternity hospitals; and it is interesting to note that before the year 1906, a beginning

had already been made with prematernity hospital provision in England. At the same time acts were passed with regard to notification of births and for the control of the practice of midwifery. The "Notification of Birth Act" was passed as early as 1907, and was made compulsory for all in 1915. By this Act it was made compulsory for the parent or any other person present at the birth or attending the mother to notify the birth to the Medical Officer of Health of the district within 36 hours. It also required the notification of still-births. This Act has a great influence on child-welfare work. The workers are helped a great deal in visiting their new-born babies within a few days after the births take place.

In India, all the above ideas and measures were put together and embodied in a movement called "The Infant and Child Welfare Movement". Though the movement was started in 1918, yet very little has been achieved in the last two decades. What we urgently require at present is more strict and compulsory legislation to enable us to achieve something real and lasting. In those places where legislation is compulsory with regard to births, vaccination, etc., the punishments meted out to indifferent parents are not sufficient to have any deterrent effect on them. Poverty, social customs and wrong beliefs among our people make it still more difficult for us to cope with them in as smooth a manner as in other countries.

As Lane-Clayton remarks, preventive work is always difficult, and in all matters less attractive than curative. In spite of that it should always be considered as the integral part of infant and child welfare work. People are always ready to pity the sick and the poor, and hence hospitals and charitable institutions are built by philanthropic persons in most cases either to ease their conscience in this world or to get salvation in the next. But if the public were to pause and reflect on the causes of illness in infants and children, and realize the importance of scientific child welfare work which aims primarily and above all at prevention rather than cure, infant and child mortality could be reduced by marshalling all available help.

As already mentioned compulsory notification of births helps the workers to visit the new-born within a few days after the births have taken place. Even then, the only workers who remain in contact with these new-born soon after they are discharged from the hospitals are the midwives and the health-visitors and perhaps private practitioners who will be of very little help and use to the mothers in the matter of difficulties in breast and artificial feeding if they are not armed with the thorough and exact knowledge and understanding imparted by such institutions as the Infant and Child Welfare Clinics. Unless the present system of teaching about the "Feeding in the First Year" is taken in hand properly in medical and nursing institutions,

cases of neonatal and postnatal deaths are likely to be on the increase.

In spite of learning the exact method of feeding, in spite of preparing and providing measures against infantile mortality, still many thousands of deaths take place every year in India due to the insufficiency of health visitors and district nurses. It is a regrettable fact that about 500 births or more in a year are being looked after by one solitary health visitor in the city of Bombay of which we are so proud and describe as the "Urbs Prima in Indies". How can one person alone give her time and care to such a large number of births! Our experience proves that not more than 150 to 200 births per year can be looked after with ease and efficiency by one health visitor. Thus there is ample scope and field for the willing young workers of our country in taking the Health Visitors' Course and educating the people in measures against infant and child mortality.

"Anæmia of Pregnancy" is a disease peculiar to India. It is responsible for a big percentage of maternal and infantile deaths proving that the mothers' health during pregnancy is an important factor in infantile mortality. Here I may quote the words of Dr. Mhaskar who says :— "Nutrition and health are closely bound together, but in no period of life is this tie so close as it is in pregnancy and in infancy when the foundations of the future body are being laid down." Among other factors causing infant and child mortality, I would like to mention one more which has drawn my attention, and that is, the age of mothers at the time of their first deliveries. It was generally seen that primiparæ before the age of adolescence had the highest maternal and infantile mortality rate. In 1929 Balfour and Young pointed out that among 847 consecutive primiparæ observed in Bombay Hospitals, the average age was 18·7 years. 75 among them were below the age of 17, i.e., 57 were 16; 11 were 15 and 7 were 14 years of age. It was found that in the cases where the mothers were below 17, at the time of child-birth (i.e., in the 75 cases of the above series) the incidence of maternal disease was rather higher and the average infant birth weight slightly less than in the case of older mothers.

One may add to the above the havoc played amongst young pregnant mothers by the *purdah* system and the social custom of their not being allowed to see sunshine or cross the path of daylight upto 40 days after delivery. The mothers and infants in these instances are deprived of fresh air and sunshine which are the enemy of all diseases. The above custom gives rise to more infant deaths in the urban than in the rural areas as in the latter the people live more in the open and lead wholesome outdoor lives. The figures of infant deaths given by the Public Health Commissioner in his Report for the year 1937 are 156·5 for rural and 210·9 for urban areas for every 1,000 live

births during that year. Only slow education of these young mothers and their relatives, by lectures, health-talks, lantern-slides, etc., in what we call 'mother craft' can remove these superstitions and old ideas, and incidentally help in lowering the infant and child mortality rate.

### CONTROL AND TREATMENT

As regards control and treatment much could be achieved by propaganda work, education of the people as a whole, organisation of preventive work with thorough registration and stricter legislation.

Bundesen and others state in a short summary that (1) improvement in obstetric care, both antenatal and postnatal, (2) better hospital nursery care, (3) avoidance of dangerous procedure and injudicious use of drugs, (4) use of measures to prolong pregnancy to full-term, such as progestin and vitamin E, and (5) employment of proper method of resuscitation should bring a definite reduction in neonatal mortality.

McNeil also maintains that in the prevention of prematurity from other causes, provision of the best possible antenatal care will help a great deal. Experiments have shown that the use of vitamin E and progestin given from early pregnancy may help in the prevention of prematurity and incidentally reduce infant mortality. Similarly, the prompt placing of premature babies in incubators supplied with oxygen and constantly given the type of special care required for such infants have given encouraging results in a series of hospital cases. Postnatal mortality caused by pneumonia can be reduced by better obstetric care, both antepartum and intrapartum which will help in preventing complications of pregnancy, labour and prematurity.

If large financial resources either from the State or private sources are forthcoming medical practitioners, acting in conformity with the proper authorities, may be willing to work in a well organised manner for the betterment of the new-born. Similarly, closer co-operation than existing at present between the public health services and universities, medical schools and voluntary and government hospitals would further the above cause and help a great deal in the control measures.

The training of medical students in pediatrics is worth considering. The course in this subject should be made more elastic and practical, especially in those of its branches which are outside the range of general medicine, *e.g.*, neonatal health and disease, prophylaxis in infancy, therapeutics in childhood and the mental health of children. The above would require an efficient and augmented teaching staff, the utilisation on a much wider scale of clinical facilities of the public health services, and some rearrangement in the medical curriculum. Similarly, the training of nurses and health visitors should be

made more thorough from the pediatric point of view.

McNeil would have us concentrate our main attention and all efforts against neonatal deaths but I feel that in India where the infant mortality rate is very high, our first endeavour should be aimed at reducing the number of infant deaths occurring after the neonatal period. This is likely to lead to a quicker reduction in the infant mortality rate than the tackling of the neonatal death-rate which presents a much more difficult problem to attack as is seen by the work and reports of the authorities concerned.

Many authorities advocate the multiplication and improvement of our present organisations for infant welfare as the best means of reducing our infant death-rate. But it will be admitted that the primary cause of infants' death after the neonatal period lies in bad hygiene, bad nursing, ignorance of dietetics and most of all inefficient maternal care. It is against all these that the attack should be launched if infant mortality rate is to be controlled. Improvement of the education of health-visitors, nurses, child-welfare medical officers, medical students who are to be the future family doctors, in the art of infant hygiene would touch only a fringe of the subject. What is required is the education of the vast masses of parents who should be made to realise their responsibility to their infants in particular and the nation in general.

The task of reducing infant mortality is not an easy one. It is a herculean endeavour requiring co-operation and understanding of one and all concerned. It cannot be achieved by sporadic visits of health visitors or doctors or by inducing mothers to bring their infants to child welfare centres by offering free milk, advice, etc., as is done to-day by most of the authorities concerned. In my opinion the education, if it is to be given and is to succeed in reducing infant mortality rate, should start at the very bottom. It must begin in the schools so that no mother can plead ignorance as an excuse for the deplorable condition of her infant. Some authorities suggest that legislation should penalise those who fail to maintain a reasonable standard of hygiene in their home. This is a very good suggestion but in a subcontinent like India, with all its castes, creeds and colours, with all its poverty, superstition and ignorance, it may be very hard and inpolitic to start at the top with legislation and punishment when the education of young mothers and the mutual understanding and co-operation of all concerned could achieve better results.

## REHABILITATION OF THE INDIAN WAR-DISABLED

M. VASUDEVA MOORTHY

The rehabilitation of the war-disabled is a major item of the post-war reconstruction programme on which the nations of the world are now concentrating their attention. In this article Dr. Moorthy makes a critical study of the principles and scope of the problem with particular reference to India and offers constructive suggestions for the rehabilitation of the Indian war-disabled, in respect of their medical help, vocational re-education and placement.

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WAR creates more problems than it solves. A modern war with its mechanized units, performing with devilish instruments of destruction, what looks like military circus in air, on water and land, is more disastrous than any known to history. Our rulers, like others, proclaim *ad infinitum*—intending to inspire themselves as well as the soldiers—that the prime objective of this war is victory. Victory may be gained by one or the other belligerent party according to its relative strength and advantage. The statesman should keep in mind the problems which war creates. War may bring victory, but it also surely brings famine, pestilence, broken homes, neurotic individuals, the blinded, the crippled and the otherwise disabled. There is a kind of victory as good, or as bad as defeat. If success in war is achieved at the loss of capital resources and manpower to the extent that they cannot be replenished it can only remain a pyrrhic victory. Real victory consists in following up the advantages gained on the battlefield, and in rehabilitating and rebuilding ruined homes and individuals, in re-establishing productive resources, re-adjusting social ties, in short, recreating the City Beautiful. Victory follows the marriage of administrative talent with military valour. It is a lesson taught by all great wars that the statesman is the complement of the soldier. The former plans for peace even while the latter is fighting for victory.

### I

The solving of the problems created by war is part of any post-war reconstruction programme of which the rehabilitation of the war-disabled is but an important item. In a total war the fighting forces are drawn from all classes of men and from all parts of the country, from fields, factories, workshops, colleges, cities and villages. After demobilization following the cessation of hostilities, these temporary forces require to be carefully absorbed in the vocational life of the country. Else, they are sure to be a source of discontent and misery. Since they have *fought* for the country or for the rulers, while the rest of the population was not so spectacularly active, the demobilized forces are



aggressively aware of their claims to preferential treatment whenever an opportunity arises for employment. The statesman should take note of this psychology of the demobilized soldier. Even otherwise it seems but fair that the State should help the ex-soldier in vocational adjustment. Justice requires that the veteran should be looked after. After having given him a hasty military training and despatched him to the front, the State cannot neglect him in times of peace, him who has fought its battles without flinching. In olden times almost in every country ex-soldiers were either absorbed in the retinue of the king or in the administrative machinery of the country or were endowed with grants of lands. In some societies plunder of the conquered territories was allowed to the soldiers who provided themselves, while there was opportunity, with whatever they could lay their hands on for their post-war life !

While the claims of the healthy demobilized soldiers are compelling, those of the disabled in war are urgent and undeniable. Having gone through the hazards of war and suffered mutilation, thus being rendered unable to earn a living for themselves and their dependants, this class of persons have a special claim on the State and the conscience of mankind. With the increasing use of destructive instruments and the ruthlessness of modern warfare, it is feared that the number of the war-disabled will be considerable, and constitute a tremendous liability on the State if proper and adequate steps towards their rehabilitation are not immediately undertaken. During the last few centuries of emergent nationalism, when patriotism reached chauvinistic frenzy in Europe, it was held that to fight for the fatherland was an honour. No sacrifice was considered too much for the defence and regeneration of one's own country. A patriot had the honour and privilege to fight for the State but had no claims against it for compensation or consideration. Indeed, it was even imagined in some cases that deformities and mutilations of the body suffered in war were ornaments and badges proclaiming the valour and patriotism of the person concerned. In Sanskrit also we come across verses where wounds of war are spoken of as emblems of heroism. As long as such views of glorified suffering prevailed the ex-soldier was left to shift for himself with nothing but indelible marks of past career to commend him to others as well as console him. Not infrequently ex-soldiers with wounds and wooden legs turned out to be beggars. It should not be supposed that prior to the modern age the wounded in war were not given medical aid. Almost every army at war had its medical corps and ambulance department, which according to the scientific light and equipment of the day, looked to the immediate needs of the wounded soldier. This work of healing in a few cases was supplemented by charitable organisations. The existence of some sort of army medical corps and women brigades even in the times of the Mauryas may be inferred by these words of Kautilya : "Physicians

with surgical instruments, machines, remedial oils and cloth in their hands, and women with prepared food and beverage should stand behind, uttering encouraging words to fighting men."<sup>1</sup>

Immediate attention to the disabled in war, as stanching the blood, bringing the senseless back to life, removing the wounded from the scene of war, etc., must have been provided for by almost every nation in the world except perhaps the barbarian. But even in the most civilized countries attention to the disabled in war did not form part of any systematic post-war reconstruction programme; as such the problem of the war-disabled did not extend beyond war-time; the claims of professional standing armies, however, were met by retirement and disablement pension schemes. England and Russia were the pioneer countries of the world who started the work of re-educating and rehabilitating their war-disabled. After the South African War, "The Incapacitated Soldiers and Sailors Help Society" was formed in England with the object of securing employment to the disabled soldier. When the plan was found inadequate "a system of workshops which combined training and sheltered employment" was started.<sup>2</sup> In 1907 Russia established along similar lines a shop in Petrograd for the training of crippled soldiers.<sup>3</sup> But most other countries of Europe and America developed effective schemes for the rehabilitation of the civilian crippled and disabled long before the Great War of 1914. When the war did bring in its aftermath of disabled soldiers, the previous experience of these countries in rehabilitation work stood them in good stead.<sup>4</sup>

The Great War brought to the forefront the problem of the war-disabled. Their number was so great that it was realized by all countries (except, of course, India) that it would be not merely inhuman but economically wasteful to let these individuals eke out their existence depending on the charity of others and of the State. The table on p. 244 gives an idea of the number of persons disabled in the last war in the British Empire alone.<sup>4</sup>

According to the House of Commons Report, May 5, 1921, the total number of the war-disabled in the United Kingdom was 1,869,567.<sup>5</sup> Making allowance for slight variations in estimates it is noteworthy that, of the 8,904,000 persons mobilized for the British Empire, over 2,400,000 soldiers were wounded, and of this huge figure the Indian wounded alone amounted to 84,715 persons. It is not known how many of these wounded soldiers of India were temporarily or permanently disabled, what the nature of their disability

<sup>1</sup> *Arthasāstra* (Shama). X, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Kessler, K. H., *The Crippled and the Disabled*, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Whitaker's Almanac.

<sup>5</sup> Kessler's *The Crippled and the Disabled*, p. 146.

## WAR CASUALTIES, 1914-19

British Empire		Total number mobilized 8,904,
	<i>Deaths</i>	<i>Wounded</i>
Great Britain & Ireland ...	812,317	1,849,494
Canada ...	62,817	166,105
Australia ...	60,456	154,722
New Zealand ...	18,212	45,946
South Africa ...	9,032	17,843
Newfoundland ...	1,609	3,628
Colonies ...	52,044	78,535
India ...	73,432	84,715
Total ...	1,089,919	2,400,988

was and what happened to these legions of unfortunates after they were demobilized. It may be supposed that a few received pension or compensation. But India, having had no experience of rehabilitation of the disabled, could not reclaim them; nor could she make any serious attempt towards re-enabling the disabled to find useful employment in civil life.

In the European and American States the problem has not been so grossly neglected. Over fifty World War Veterans Organisations were established during and after the war for the purpose of securing measures and initiating schemes for the care and rehabilitation of the disabled soldier and sailor. Due to the propaganda and agitation of these bodies, many legislative benefits have been obtained for the war-disabled. In the United States, the Society of Disabled American Veterans of the World War, chartered by an Act of Congress in 1932, has done such yeoman service in finding employment to the service-disabled that in 1935 Kessler pointed out: "A disabled man now has thirty-two times as much chance of receiving appointment as a non-disabled man."<sup>6</sup> Similar activity and enthusiasm have been shown in obtaining benefits to the war-disabled in England, France, Italy, Germany and other countries irrespective of the types of their governments and political leanings. Now the work of the rehabilitation of their respective war-disabled is either officially conducted, or supervised or financed by these States.

In Great Britain, in view of the increasing acuteness of this problem since the commencement of the present World War, the Minister of Labour and National Service introduced in October 1941 an Interim Scheme for the training and resettlement of disabled persons. Later in December 1941, the Inter-departmental Committee on the Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Disabled Persons was appointed with the following terms of reference :—

<sup>6</sup> Kessler, *The Grippled and the Disabled*, Pp. 152-56.

(a) To make proposals for introduction at the earliest possible date of a scheme for the rehabilitation and training for employment of disabled persons not provided for by the Interim Scheme of the Ministry of Labour;

(b) To consider and make recommendations for introduction, as soon as possible after the war, of a comprehensive scheme for—(1) the rehabilitation and training of, and (2) securing satisfactory employment for disabled persons of all categories;

(c) To consider and make recommendations as to the manner in which the scheme proposed for introduction after the war should be financed. <sup>7</sup>

In its final Report issued in January 1943, the Committee suggests the development of comprehensive hospital facilities, adequate to meet the medical needs of principal categories of disablement as outlined therein. Thus special centres on the lines of sanatoria for cardiac cases, neuro-psychiatric services for treatment of cases of neurosis, etc., are recommended. It also suggests the starting of special centres (mainly residential) for the reconditioning of the disabled after the treatment in the hospital. These centres are perhaps homes for the convalescents. Further, it visualises three types of vocational training for disabled persons:—(1) Training for the professional and higher grades of technical, administrative and executive employment; (2) training for semi-professional and lower grade technical, executive and clerical occupations; and (3) training for industrial occupations. <sup>8</sup>

It also recommends that the present training schemes administered by the Ministry of Labour and National Service, and other existing facilities, like Government Training Centres, technical colleges, employer's workshops and special centres, should be made use of wherever possible for training the war-disabled for industrial occupations according as their abilities or disabilities fit them. The following three principles laid down by the Committee for governing the industrial scheme are noteworthy:—(1) Training must be directed towards specific employment. (2) The applicant's disability should be such that it is a real handicap to satisfactory employment, and that training is necessary to overcome it. (3) "Training should be continued to the point where the disabled person can take up work on equal terms with those who have entered employment in the ordinary way—whether under apprenticeship or otherwise." <sup>9</sup>

For facilitating the employment of disabled persons after training the Committee recommends:—(a) The introduction of a quota of disabled persons, and the imposition on employers who do not meet the quota of restrictions on

<sup>7</sup> *International Labour Review*, July, 1943.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

the engagement of other workers; (b) the scheduling of certain occupations for the benefit of disabled persons; and (c) the establishment of a register of persons handicapped by disablement.<sup>10</sup> Finally, it is suggested that the financial burden of rehabilitation should be borne by the Exchequer, by the employer (in whole or in part) where he is responsible for the disability and by the local education authorities in case of the juvenile disabled.

Much useful work is being done and planned officially in England towards the rehabilitation of the disabled. Indeed, even while the war is in progress a few experimental centres are being established and it is hoped that before this destructive war ends, the creative work of rehabilitation would be in full swing.

## II

Rehabilitation of the war-disabled in India is yet in a nebulous state, though it has already appeared on the political horizon. To find out its actual shape or trend requires, indeed, a powerfully telescopic vision. This does not mean that the interests of the war veteran in general, and the disabled in particular have been completely neglected from the beginning. Soon after the last war, the Indian Soldiers' Board was started as a non-official body charged with the function of providing employment and relief to ex-soldiers and their dependants. Gradually Provincial and District Soldiers' Boards were established and these were bureaucratically linked up with the parent body. The important functions of the District Soldiers' Board are stated to be :—(1) To communicate information regarding employment, facilities for training for vocations and concessions open to discharged men, and maintain a register. (2) To investigate cases of ex-soldiers invalided out of the Indian Army for chronic diseases such as T. B., Leprosy, etc.

Since neither the official nor the public showed any enthusiasm for constructive work the District Soldiers' Board declined in importance, not even heard of in many places, and consequently the entire organization had to be "overhauled" in 1936. Meanwhile, the Indian Red Cross Society, started in India by the St. John Ambulance Association, had acquired some recognition by its charitable attention to the disabled soldiers. In 1920 a bill was passed to constitute an Indian Red Cross Society. Two of the main objects of the Society are :—(1) Care of the sick and wounded of His Majesty's Forces on active list or demobilized. (2) Provision of comforts and assistance to members of His Majesty's Forces, whether on active list or demobilized.

In case of war the Indian Red Cross Society acts as an auxiliary to the Army Medical Service. It is claimed that the Society keeps contact with

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

discharged soldiers and sailors in their respective villages, and that those suffering from chronic diseases, tuberculosis, cardiac affections, etc. are given medical assistance and advice. To some extent the functions of the Red Cross Society and those of the District Soldiers' Board overlap. This may be a reason why the latter declined in importance. However, when the Indian Soldiers' Board was revised in 1936, it undertook to experiment with rural reconstruction work in military villages in the Punjab. For this purpose the Board invested about Rs. 30,000 within the three years ending 1939. If reports and press news can be taken at their face value, much useful work is being done by it in the promotion of rural reconstruction schemes.

The Board also maintains Employment Bureaus to find jobs for Indian ex-soldiers. A few visits to any of these will convince one that there is great scope for work. But unfortunately the Bureaus are worked in full military atmosphere and are over-ridden with men with no "vision". Investigations and observations of the working of this branch have led us to conclude that, though a few officers are quite enthusiastic and sympathetic, they are utterly helpless to re-establish the disabled soldier in any occupation as there are no agencies or centres in our country devoted to vocational therapy. We have been told that the disabled Indian ex-soldier has generally a high intelligence level and is alive to his responsibility, and if he is properly re-educated will function as a useful member of society. In the absence of such re-education disabled soldiers can only be engaged as servants and sweepers which is hardly fair to them—and as clerks if they have learnt to read and write fairly well.

Moreover, while the crippled and partially disabled can perhaps be employed in at least menial occupations, the problem of the blinded in war cannot be tackled at all by the Ex-soldiers' Employment Bureaus; for the case of the blinded requires special treatment and re-education. After long neglect of this issue, St. Dunstan's Section of the War Purposes Fund was started by the Viceroy in 1939. Recently the St. Dunstan's Hostel for Indian War-Blinded was established with the help of Lt.-Col. Sir Clutha Mackenzie who was himself blinded in the last war. The Hostel is situated in Dehra Dun and "occupies a six-acre site". In September 1943, the Hostel contained 12 trainees. "The trainees", it is reported, "will be instructed in simple industries which they can carry on in their villages. Endeavours will be made to train them in the acquisition of a general capacity to take care of themselves, as far as possible, and participate in village activities of a recreational nature. In addition to giving training, the Centre will try to make home conditions of war-blinded satisfactory by giving financial assistance towards housing and cost of equipment for any trade they may

take up''.<sup>11</sup>

The trainees are taught village trades, spinning, weaving, newar, physical drill, Braille and typing. It is yet too early to say what progress has been made by the Hostel. Everything will depend on the personnel, the management and the type or types of training given. Even at the initial stages of the Hostel's establishment, "a number of blinded men", it is complained, "had been discharged to their villages before they were reported to the Centre; and it has been no easy matter to persuade some of them to return".<sup>12</sup> Their unwillingness to return may be due to their unpleasant experiences in the Centre. It may also be due to the general tendency to discount government undertakings even before they are initiated because of the official spirit and red-tapism which usually dominate them.

The problem of re-establishing in civil life the ex-soldiers generally is now receiving some attention by the Central and Provincial Governments. Among other plans the proposal for village settlements appears to have received the warmest approval. At a recent meeting of the Rural Development Board, the Bombay Government's plans for the settlement of ex-soldiers in selected villages, were unfolded. It is said that "in taking up rural reconstruction work, preference will be given to villages where a fair number of soldiers and their families are found."<sup>13</sup> We learn that already 20 villages in each of the two leading recruiting districts of Satara and Ratnagiri have been provisionally selected; and the possibilities of an all-round development of these villages with special reference to the problems of the returned soldier and his family are being explored. The Bombay Government are also considering "schemes for the training of ex-soldiers in agriculture and village industries, with special emphasis on demonstration parties, training in industrial schools, and financial assistance to trainees to set up business." It appears that the Indian sepoy even while on service is being educated through pamphlets, lectures, gramophone records, broadcasts and films, and a programme of welfare work to take his honourable place in the village after the war is over.<sup>14</sup> Thus the air is humming with rehabilitation talks and plans, conferences and committees. The forces are being trained for the war and for peace simultaneously. It is a happy sign of the times that even while our men are crossing swords, they are being taught how to beat them into ploughshares.

<sup>11</sup> *Indian Information*, September 15, 1943.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Vide, The Times of India*, October 8, 1943, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup> *Bombay Information*, October 2, 1943.

## III

The problem of the rehabilitation of the war-disabled in India requires special attention and study. It must first be clearly understood that rehabilitation does not mean mere giving of pension or compensation to the disabled. Rehabilitation means re-establishing the individual, as far as possible, in a gainful occupation by helping him in every scientific way to overcome his handicap. We are here, of course, directly concerned with those whose disabilities are traceable to their services in war. Disabilities may be defined as physical or psychological incapacity which interferes with one's pursuit of a normal occupation. A disabled person is somewhat cumbrously defined by the Inter-departmental Committee on the Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Disabled Persons in the following words: "A disabled person is a person who, on account of injury or disease of a character which is likely to last for more than six months, or on account of congenital deformity, is substantially handicapped in obtaining or keeping employment of a kind generally suited to his age, previous experience, and qualifications."<sup>15</sup>

Two reasons seem to have influenced the neglect of the rehabilitation of the disabled generally in ancient and mediaeval India. One is the *karma* theory which condemns a man to his fate. The second is the want of scientific knowledge and apparatus necessary in the application of vocational therapy. Now that the one is rationally held and the other overcome there is no excuse to neglect the rehabilitation of the disabled.

We have given a brief sketch of the work undertaken in our country and abroad, towards solving the problem of the war-disabled. Since fresh schemes inspired by the appalling gravity of the situation are being contemplated for the resettlement of the war-disabled and the returned soldiers it is well to study the scope and principles of rehabilitation with particular reference to the needs of the war-disabled in India. Though their needs are similar to those of the civilian disabled, it must be remembered that the former constitute a special class in that they have once been normal human beings drawn from diverse occupations and trained to a particular vocation and outlook, and for whose disability the state is to a great extent responsible. Apart from philanthropic considerations, if they are not reclaimed they will be an economic loss to the community as far as the productive resources of the country are concerned and form a liability as long as they live as mere consumers. Thus the problem of the rehabilitation of the war-disabled is a human-economic issue.

The needs of the war-disabled fall under three heads with reference to the stage arrived at in the rehabilitation process :—(a) Medical help;

<sup>15</sup> *International Labour Review*, July, 1943, p. 53.



(b) vocational re-education; and (c) placement. The first refers to the physical rehabilitation while the latter two refer to the economic rehabilitation of the disabled. It is needless to mention that rehabilitation includes the care of the dependants of the disabled soldier during the period occupied by the latter's medical help and vocational re-education and until such time as he finds a gainful employment.

*Medical Help.*—As soon as a person is known to be disabled the first requirement is to remove him to a place, preferably a hospital in charge of an efficient staff and well equipped with modern chemical and surgical apparatus. If none such be near all available help should immediately be rendered according to the gravity of the wound, and the patient may later be removed to the hospital. We must here state, with as much emphasis as we can command, that treatment given instantly after an accident is much more important than the later stages of medical help; and we have witnessed civilian casualties due to bicycle and motor car accidents, railway mishaps, riots, etc., being rendered complicated and incurable by the mere neglect of the first stages of treatment. Such neglect might have been due either to the unavailability of immediate medical help or to the disgusting official form and routine one has to go through before giving medical help. However, it is worthwhile to remember that a stitch in time saves nine is as good a medical maxim as a sartorial one. After the war-disabled has been given immediate treatment and removed to the hospital, his case should be diagnosed by a Committee of Medical Men who will thereon recommend and direct curative measures to be adopted towards the recovery of the patient. Surgical operations should be performed, if necessary, and, wherever possible, wooden and rubber accessories and substitute limbs should be provided.

Each case of disease and mutilation should be treated in special wards created for the purpose. If the patient's affection is cardiac or due to pathogenic bacteria requiring residence in a sanatorium, he should be removed to such a place in his own interests as well as those of others. After the patient has fully recovered and is certified by the doctors to have done so he should be sent to the Convalescent Home where predominant attention should be paid to the nutrition and health of the individual. This Convalescent Home may be said to supply the post-hospital needs of the disabled, and though different from the hospital, yet is not entirely unrelated to it. Indeed, the doctors who have helped the invalid to recover from stage to stage, thus getting acquainted at the same time with his psychological make-up and physical needs, should visit him from time to time when he is a convalescent in the Home and supervise his physical rehabilitation, providing such recreation as may be suitable to or necessary for him.

After medical science and psycho-therapy have done their best to reclaim the disabled person, his physical rehabilitation may be said to be complete. Henceforward the stage of economic rehabilitation involving his vocational re-education and placement should begin. Before he is passed on to the second stage in the rehabilitation process it is better that his disability should be classified for purposes of determining the type and extent of re-education needed or is possible. The following schedule of disability rates for the German war-disabled, as quoted by Kessler, will give an idea of how physiological and vocational disabilities are estimated :—

	<i>Percent</i>
Loss of a Leg or an Arm	... 50
Loss of a Leg below the Knee	... 40
Loss of a Foot	... 30
Loss of the Forearm or entire Hand of the Arm used ...	50
Loss of the Other Arm	... 40
Loss of Three or More Fingers Including the Thumb of the Hand used	... 35
Loss of the other Hand	... 30
Loss of Three or More Fingers Exclusive of the Thumb of the Hand used	... 30
Loss of the Other Hand	... 25
Loss of the Thumb only of the Hand used	... 25
Loss of the Entire Scalp	... 25
Loss of or Total Blinding of One Eye	... 25
Hemianopsia	... 40
Loss of a Jaw or More than One-third Thereof	... 30
Loss of the Palate	... 25
Loss of all the Teeth	... 25
Loss of Both Auricles	... 25
Loss of Considerable Tissue of the Tongue, Causing Heavy Impediment of Speech	... 30
Loss of the Larynx	... 50
Loss of the Entire Nose	... 50
Ozena	... 30
Facial Disfigurement, Making it Difficult to Consort with Others	... 25-50
Loss of Both Testes or of the Male Organ	... 30
Loss of the Uterus	... 30
Loss of the Spleen or One Kidney	... 30
Unnatural Anal Urinary or Intestinal Fistula	... 30
Loss of the Sphincter Ani ; Severe Prolapse of Rectum...	30

It may be mentioned here that the percentage classification of disabilities given above may not satisfy the requirements of our own country. But it may be modified and applied to our war-disabled according to our own standards. It is a point which bears iteration that their classification should be made just before their discharge from the Convalescent Home. For, at this point so much percentage of disabilities will appear inevitable after treatment and convalescence, and with this percentage fixed the individual will have to start his economic career, of course, helped by the State.

*Vocational Re-education.*—The fixing of the disability percentage will be the task of Experts in Vocational Therapy in consultation with the Committee of Medical Men. After the disability is fixed the Experts may determine the type of re-education needed according to the history and requirements of each case, and specifically, with reference to the later placement opportunities and preferences. In determining it special consideration should be given not only to the nature of the disability of each case but also to the possible reactions of such re-education on the health and mind of the disabled. Their age and inclinations are also powerful factors and no type of re-education should be laid down without taking these factors into consideration. The more advanced the age of a person at which disability happens the more difficult it is to bring about his rehabilitation. To illustrate, blindness at the age of fifty is to a person who has had no general education much more serious than at the age of twenty; likewise, mutilation of the limbs, neurotic disorders, tuberculosis, etc. This means that determining the type of re-education, even after the disability percentage is fixed, is a very complicated issue and no standard as applicable to all can be laid down. We can only say that each case must be treated with full understanding and genuine sympathy.

After the type of re-education has been determined and recommended, the disabled should be sent to their respective Training Centres. These Centres should be places where special methods of teaching the disabled have been evolved and applied. They may be given a course of general education first and may be taught simple arts and handicrafts. Music lessons and liberal education may also be given to the persons according to their aptitudes and receptive abilities. The curriculum of studies and courses should be built up by experienced men with a view to rehabilitate the *personality* of the disabled man as well as re-establish him in economic life. All available Government Training Centres and private technical institutions of repute should be utilized in addition to the new ones which may be started. But wherever existing training institutes are used, the prevailing systems of training therein should be modified so as to suit his requirements. For this purpose new departments may have to be created in them and new staff

appointed. We should discourage all attempts to install the disabled as apprentices in workshops and mills, whether private or Government owned; for these are run on commercial lines without adequate scientific methodology for imparting technical education to the handicapped. No institute or centre run purely on commercial lines will therefore be a good training place for them.

As regards the period of training, no hard and fast rules can be fixed. The vocational re-education is not an affair which can be hurried through. The period of training depends on three factors:—(1) the ability of the training staff; (2) the nature and type of the disability to be overcome by the handicapped; and (3) also his will-power to do so. Where all the three factors are favourable the period may be expected to be short, running from six to twelve months; and where the factors are unfavourable the training may take a longer time running to more than a year or two, or even much longer. Any way, the training of the war-disabled requires much patience, time and energy.

*Placement.*—The next important step, and the most difficult, is the satisfactory placement of the re-educated war-disabled in some gainful occupation. Indeed, the rehabilitation process cannot be said to have succeeded unless the disabled is helped in getting a suitable job. It is to a great extent true that the end and objective of rehabilitation is to provide him with some work which he can discharge as best he can, and which will constitute his independent means of livelihood. After he is "vocationally placed", his status will change from that of a mere *relief receiver* to that of an *earner*.

The great difficulty to be overcome in placement is the prejudice prevailing in the competitive labour markets that the disabled person, for all his re-education, is comparatively inefficient. His disability generally gives the impression of his being an unproductive agent. And industrialists and other employers, who have an eye on their returns, are naturally shy in engaging labour widely suspected to be inefficient and unproductive. We believe that this is a fairly justified fear of the employers. If the disability of the individual in no way hinders his efficient functioning as a productive agent, then the Government may take steps towards the preferential appointment of such disabled.

The Inter-Departmental Committee on the Rehabilitation of the War-disabled rightly observes: "The scheme should not therefore try to create employment or preference for disabled persons regardless of their capacity to undertake the work required and of the need for efficiency in production; the aim should be to secure for the disabled their full share, within their capacity, of such employment as is ordinarily available. In this sense the

scheme must not upset the industrial structure and must, in general, fit in with the normal methods of labour engagement".<sup>16</sup> Wherever disability is proved and certified to be of such a nature as not to be a bar to efficiency, employment of the disabled may be compulsorily secured. But in cases where disability is a handicap to efficient functioning sheltered occupations may be started for the employment of such persons. This means that a schedule of industries should be prepared specially meant for employing them.

The possibilities of starting agricultural and industrial settlements for the purpose of employing returned soldiers may be explored, with a view, particularly to meet the placement requirements and conditions of the disabled. Instead of starting new large scale or small scale agricultural settlements for them, it is better if these are absorbed in the already existing village systems of our country, by rent-free grants of land and loans to meet the initial out-lay on cattle, manure, seeds, etc.. The great objection to the settlements or colonies of the war-disabled is that grouped together in numbers they will form a dismal company and an appalling sight to themselves and to others. We should not lose sight of the psychological reactions of such grouping. It is better to associate them, as far as possible with healthy, whole and vigorous human beings. In granting land to them, provision should be made against their capitalizing the land, or turning it into a sinecure by behaving as petty landlords. Such land should, of course, be inalienable and revert to the State in the event of their dying without heirs.

One great principle which should be borne in mind in constructing schemes of employment to the war-disabled is, "redress, but not returns". That is, we should not expect to make profits out of the employment of the handicapped. It is more than what is aimed at if schemes of re-settlement and employment pay for themselves. May be, in some instances, the State will have even to subsidize and maintain such schemes. But it is no loss to the State to incur such expenditure. If war has to be carried on at any cost, should not rehabilitation of the disabled in war be undertaken at some cost at least? The costs of rehabilitation, properly viewed, should constitute a part of war costs. Hence, rehabilitation costs should form a necessary item of expenditure to be met by the exchequer. The Inter-Departmental Committee on the War-Disabled in England suggests that rehabilitation costs may also be supplemented in the case of juveniles, by grants from local educational bodies. We deprecate this encroachment on the finances of local educational bodies, so far as India is concerned, in view of the fact that India's educational budget, administered locally or centrally, is proverbially slender. The rehabilitation costs may be supplemented by grants from charitable institu-

<sup>16</sup> *International Labour Review*, July 1943.

tions and persons. The possibility of diverting religious endowments and revenues to the purpose of meeting the costs of rehabilitation should be explored. Our temples and mosques have huge capital resources which are a great asset to the country. The moneys of religious bodies cannot be better expended than on such rehabilitation schemes. What work will be more pleasing to God than the reclamation of His handicapped children! If we properly appeal to the religious sentiments of the Hindus and Muslims, it is our belief that there would be least resistance to such a proposal. We even expect a spontaneous and abundant response. It will be given no sooner than asked. Once the work of rehabilitating is started, it may, in course of time, reach and embrace the disabled in other walks of life.

The War has been in progress for the last four years. To us in India, it has brought many a calamity. What unknown horrors will follow this Armageddon we know not. Major Gen. G. Noble Molesworth, former Deputy Chief of Staff of India, in a speech to the East India Association, on October 5, 1943, revealed that up to last June 5,618 Indians have been killed, while 13,084 have been wounded. The number of wounded is by no means small, even if we take it as the modest estimate of a shy official. The question naturally arises : Is anything substantial being done towards the rehabilitation of these war-disabled ? Alas, nothing ! The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has been formed by the Allied Nations, with a view to "plan, co-ordinate, administer and arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities and medical and other essential services." It is disclosed that a Relief Pool has been created into which the United States will put about 1,500 million dollars while the other member countries are expected to contribute on a percentage basis of their national income with necessary adjustments. The details of the scheme and how far it applies to India are not known. On behalf of India an official has signed the agreement *without reference to the Legislative Assembly*. Behind the scenes there appears to be much vacillation and secrecy. In spite of these cheerless indications we hope better and more specific schemes for rehabilitation will be soon evolved and the legions of the Indian war-disabled will not be ungratefully ignored.

## AN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNAL DISHARMONY

M. R. A. BAIG

The bugbear of Indian social life is Hindu-Muslim disunity, which is badly exploited by interested parties for selfish political purposes. Mr. Baig, in this address which was recently delivered at the Tata School, considers our Social System, Separate Electorate and the lack of a real National Language and Script to be at the root of our communal disharmony. He calls attention, somewhat pungently though, to certain popular and provoking attitudes of "hidden Hinduism", and makes a vigorous plea for self-decommunalization. His suggestions are constructively radical and deserve the serious consideration of all Indian patriots.

Mr. Baig, who is associated with many progressive movements, is an ex-Sheriff of Bombay.

**T**O give one's views of the reasons for communal disharmony and to suggest methods to achieve unity is a task bristling with dangers and difficulties. If one surveys the political scene with special reference to the communal question the intense depression that is created is only increased by the conviction that everybody concerned is to blame and nobody at all is innocent. Brave, therefore, is he who essays this task. Furthermore, it is a problem with so many aspects, each of which is so mutually interdependent and interacting, that it requires careful study which few, and certainly not myself, have been able to give to it. Let me, therefore, at the very commencement safeguard myself by telling you that the views and suggestions I place before you are those that I have arrived at myself from my own very limited study and experience. I should also make it clear that I am discussing communal disharmony, and not political freedom and, therefore, I have not gone very deeply into the reasons for the present deadlock nor suggested any means of solving it. I am concerned only with communal harmony and disharmony.

Now, to commence with, I object to the very phrase "The Communal Problem" for I suggest that there is no communal problem in the singular or All-India sense. The so-called communal problem is the sum of a number of local communal problems each of them being entirely different and each, therefore, requiring an entirely different solution. In Bengal, for instance, the problem is largely agrarian, a problem between landlord and tenant which, by an unfortunate coincidence, falls into communal lines. It has also a rural-urban aspect. For instance, the overwhelming majority of the primary producers of jute in East Bengal are Muslims whereas the middlemen and the industrialists and all those who really reap the profits from jute are non-

Muslims. It is, therefore, fundamentally, an economic problem which has taken a communal aspect and its solution has absolutely nothing to do with religion and little to do with politics. Its solution depends on a reorganisation of the economic structure of Bengal by such means as the abolition of the permanent settlement and also by ensuring that the primary producer while he reaps his jute reaps also the profit that is due to him. In the Punjab, on the other hand, it is a triangular problem—Hindu, Muslim and Sikh—which can only be solved by the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of the Punjab and no one else.

In the North-West Frontier Province and in Madras there is no communal problem for when a minority is less than 5 per cent it cannot claim to be considered a minority. Bombay is in much the same position. Muslims here are 9 per cent and we can only exist, in spite of every possible safeguard, through the good-will of the majority. Assuming that the Hindu bears ill-will towards the Muslim, which is the basis of the Muslim communal case, the Hindu is in such a great majority that all the separate electorates in the world and even doubling our numbers in the Legislature through weightage, will not help us very much. Our only hope is to create amongst the Hindus the maximum amount of good-will towards the Muslims so that, as they advance educationally, economically and in other ways, they take the Muslims along with them. One of the chief causes of communal disharmony has been that the Hindu has forged ahead leaving the Muslim behind. Communalism, as it is understood, is, therefore, against Muslim interests in Bombay; hence Muslims will be the greatest beneficiaries of nationalism. Conversely, communalism is in the interest of the Hindu majority and nationalism involves a certain amount of sacrifice on their part.

I, therefore, consider it a fundamental mistake to think, so far as communal unity is concerned, on All-India terms. Fundamentally we are provincial and will be such constitutionally also since the new constitution to be forged we hope, after the war will certainly be based on residuary powers in the Provinces at the very least if not on even greater decentralisation. The Centre, therefore, is given up for all intents and purposes (however much the recent famine may have brought out India's economic unity and the need of a strong Central Government) and, in future, the centre of political gravity will be the Provinces. In fact one thing the recent famine has shown up is the weakness of the Centre which, incidentally, has its own lesson to those Muslims who are being constantly bluffed by the bogey of a Hindu-ridden Centre. The Centre will be so weak (and is so weak) that it matters little if it is all Hindu or all Muslim and if the League opinion can be appeased by a fifty-fifty Central Government, I would advise the Hindus to jump at it.

While we are talking about the Muslim League Policy let me point out



how the League's own policy proves my point, namely, that the communal problem cannot be settled on All-India lines. The League's solution is Pakistan; but what Pakistan solves I really do not know. There are 40 per cent of Hindus in the Pakistan areas and 20,000,000 Muslims in the non-Pakistan areas. Even assuming that there is an All-India communal problem, all that is achieved is that this problem is divided into two. In both these areas the problem will remain to be solved as much after Pakistan as before and if all kinds of guarantees and safeguards can be given to the minorities in the Pakistan areas, they can be equally given to the minorities in All-India. At any rate, why should the Hindu minority accept from the Muslim majority what the Muslims themselves are not prepared to accept from the All-India Hindu majority? And as for the 20,000,000 Muslims left out of Pakistan, they are quietly jettisoned and forgotten. A most effective and satisfactory solution to a difficult problem! What Pakistan does, solve, however, is the Congress-League problem since, after Pakistan, the League will rule undisturbed over Pakistan and the Congress over the rest. But what it does not solve is the Hindu-Muslim problem which, if anything, will become more acute.

I also object very strongly indeed to the approach to the problem, which has become very prevalent lately, as a means of getting rid of the British. There is no doubt that we must get rid of the British and there is also no doubt that to do so communal unity is absolutely necessary. But communal unity is an end in itself and should be pursued irrespective of whether we get rid of the British or not. I am highly suspicious of those who are prepared to give all kinds of concessions to Muslim communalists in order to make them line up in an anti-British front because I am certain that as soon as the British problem has been solved their interest in the communal problem will also come to an end. Please, therefore, do not consider communal unity as a means to an end but as an end in itself irrespective of anything and everything else.

Further, I deprecate the tendency, which is also very prevalent, of putting the whole blame for communal disharmony on British shoulders and then after saying "What can we do while the British are here to divide and rule" doing absolutely nothing at all. I am afraid the British serve as a first class alibi for those who have done nothing for communal unity and intend to do nothing, but require something with which to appease their very guilty consciences. Do not consider for a moment that I do not consider the British guilty. If anybody has any doubts about their policy of divide and rule, let him read "The Communal Triangle" by Ashok Mehta and Achut Patwardhan. This is a first class exposure of two sides of the

triangle, the British and the Muslim. But it is completely silent about the Hindu side which is, in my opinion, the most to blame. It is the most to blame for in the final analysis a minority dances to the tune played by the majority. If the majority is national the minority will be national, and if the minority is communal it is because the majority is so. Of this state of affairs, the British have taken the fullest advantage, and why should they not? The fault is ours and the responsibility of solving it is also ours; on our priority list of National Needs, Communal Unity and not Quit India should be the first. In fact, I may say that the Mahatma's change of attitude from maintaining that communal unity must come first to that of the British must quit first, robbed the dynamic appeal of "Quit India" of Muslim support from the very start.

Another unfortunate habit of ours is that of treating the symptoms rather than the disease; it is this more than anything else that explains our complete failure to solve this problem. The reasons for our differences have never been properly analysed and attacked at the very root. An outstanding example of this attitude is the recent agitation against the Pentangular Cricket Tournament. Every sensible person must condemn communal cricket but will stopping the Pentangular bring it to an end? Communal cricket will exist as long as there are communal gymkhanas, and as long as they exist it is natural that one gymkhana will play the other at various games. If the Hindu and Muslim gymkhanas play quietly on each other's grounds, as they may do every week-end, nobody complains. But let them play at the Brabourne Stadium and protests are loudly made. Many, many of those who object to the Pentangular are themselves members of communal clubs, and few Hindus realise the tremendous set-back that has been given to national unity by the Congress Government and many prominent Congressmen being associated with the Hindu Swimming Bath at Chowpatty. Only the other day when arguing against Pakistan with some Muslim students, I was bluntly told "Why do you talk to us? Pakistan is a big matter. Let the Hindus first give a lead in small matters. Let them, for instance, close their "Pakistan" swimming bath and then we will discuss Pakistan." Therefore if you wish communal sport to end, do not attack matches by gymkhanas but attack the gymkhanas themselves. There are many prominent Congressmen and alleged nationalists who are members of communal bodies of which we are aware. I have not, I am sorry to say, found public opinion focussed in their direction.

The whole approach to Hindu-Muslim Unity is thus based on treating the symptoms rather than the disease. Take the cry of Congress-League Unity. Assuming that the League represents the Muslims, which it does not,

and assuming the implication inherent in this cry, that the Congress represents the Hindus, which it does not either, a Hindu-Muslim Pact may be arrived at and everybody will be happy. But a Hindu-Muslim Pact is not Hindu-Muslim Unity for under a Pact Hindus will remain Hindus and Muslims will remain Muslims—both carefully watching each other for any infringement of the Pact. The word we should use is National Unity which would make us cease thinking as Hindus and Muslims but as Indians, whatever our religion may be.

This attitude cannot be brought about by half-a-dozen leaders, however eminent and representative, sitting round a table and signing a joint document of which the very basis will inevitably be the preservation of the interests and existence of the signatories, their communities and their parties. It can only be brought about by a positive attempt of decommunalisation by every one of us in this room and outside. Few of us are doing this and most of us are trying for Congress-League Unity. But as long as we continue to do so, real communal unity will not be achieved.

Vigorous self-decommunalisation is, therefore, the first step towards National Union but it is unfortunate that so little is actually being done in this direction. I am afraid I have to say that there is a distinct difference between Hindu Nationalism and Muslim Nationalism. I have found Muslim Nationalism to be first pro-Hindu-Muslim Unity and then, if anything, anti-British. Hindu Nationalists are first anti-British, and Hindu-Muslim Unity is generally grouped in their minds with anti-untouchability, prohibition and other desirable reforms. Many, many Hindus, quite sincerely believe that they can remain Hindu in thought, culture, appearance and habits and yet be nationalists. There is a widely prevalent belief that Hindus are Indians and Muslims Muslims. Of course, neither the Hindus nor Muslims as such are Indians, and nothing should be Indian that is not partly Hindu and partly Muslim.

Let me give you some examples. If you refer to Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, you will call him a Bengalee. But if you refer to Mr. Fazul Haq, you automatically call him a Bengalee Muslim. Why? They are both Bengalees, and this is even more strange since the Muslims are in a majority in Bengal and, if anything, they should be Bengalees, and the Hindu, the extra. Let me give you another case. Recently, a new Dewan was appointed in Cutch. A few months ago when he was in Bombay a very prominent Cutchee, very popular in Nationalist circles, called on him. The Dewan in the course of conversation stated that during his next visit to Bombay, he would like to meet some Cutchees of Bombay. A few weeks ago he came and a party was held in his honour. The Dewan found that only Hindus had been invited, and

asked why that was so? His host was astonished. "But you said you wanted to meet Cutchees, you did not say Muslim." But are not the Muslims of Cutch Cutchees? Mr. Meherally is a Cutchee and so is Mr. Jinnah. How can you blame anyone thinking himself a Muslim first as long as this attitude persists. It occurs even in business relations. The Devkaran Nanji Bank is considered an "Indian" Bank. But the Habib Bank is a "Muslim" Bank. Even the Tatas, in the minds of most people, are still a "Parsee" firm. But the Birlas or Dalmias, who very probably do not employ a single non-Hindu, are "National" enterprises. Do not think that I have given isolated cases. This attitude that the Hindu is an Indian and the Muslim is a Muslim is more the rule than the exception and its existence is one of the prime causes of communal disharmony.

If, therefore, we want national unity we must have a clear understanding of nationalism. I have said earlier that the chief characteristic of Hindu Nationalism is anti-Britishism. I am afraid that in the majority of cases it is the only characteristic. Anti-Britishism is undoubtedly an inevitable and even a healthy manifestation of nationalism but it is not nationalism. Nationalism should be Indianism as opposed to Hinduism or Muslimism and that is the one thing it really is not. That is why nationalism is so suspect amongst Muslims. Muslims would have no objection to Indianism but they strongly object to hidden-Hinduism.

Let me give you a case. For years there has been in Bombay the Grain Dealers' Association of over 2,000 members of which I do not think a single one was a Muslim. Yet this Association was a strongly nationalist organisation. It was affiliated to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and it was one of the props of the Congress. Its Committee were all Congressmen and from every point of view it was a strong nationalist body. But was it? All that it was was a Hindu anti-British body and nothing else. Came rationing, and Government decided to deal with the grain dealers through the Association. This meant that the Muslim grain dealers would have been left entirely out of the rationing scheme. Some of them came to me, and I convened a meeting of them and formed (and you cannot blame us) a Muslim Grain Dealers' Association. I then took them to Mr. Gorwalla and got the Association recognised, and later we were given our full quota of ration shops. There are nearly 400 Muslim grain dealers in Bombay, the very existence of which the nationalist association was blissfully unaware. Once the Muslims were organised and had their quota of ration shops, I spoke to Mr. Rattansey Devji and suggested that we bring the leaders of the two Associations together. This we did and amidst great cordiality and Hindu-Muslim brotherhood, we have formed a Grain Dealers' Federation which, I am glad to say, is working

as one body without the slightest trace of Hindu-Muslim feeling. Now it has become a national body but it is not one Association but a Federation, the larger half of which is Hindu in composition and the smaller half Muslim in name and composition. We hope eventually to make it into one Association but the point is that all these years the Hindus, while they considered themselves perfectly national, made not the slightest attempt to associate anybody except Hindus with them. You will say that nothing prevented the Muslims from joining. True, nothing prevents them joining the Congress but while certain attitudes exist, they just don't.

Let me give another case. The other day I read that Mr. K. M. Munshi had been elected President of a Committee to write a History of India. On this Committee there was not a single Muslim name. I wonder what kind of Indian History they are going to write, yet I am sure that they are perfectly satisfied with their own composition. Take the case of the Maharashtra University Committee. Here is another glaring example of considering Hindus as Maharashtrians and Muslims merely as Muslim. In spite of there being thousands and thousands of Muslims in Maharashtra, even with Marathi as their mother tongue, not a single Muslim was appointed on the Committee till loud protests were made when one was hurriedly nominated some weeks after the Committee was announced. Please forgive me giving so many examples but theories are based on data and the data to prove my point is overwhelming. It is this attitude which I refer to as hidden-Hinduism and it is this attitude that keeps communal disharmony alive. Be careful, therefore, of your use of the word "national". No hundred percent Hindu or Muslim, however patriotic or anti-British he may be, is a nationalist. A nationalist is one who thinks of India as a nation and who is an Indian first and last. How many of our national Leaders stand this test?

I have spoken of the need to decommunalise ourselves. Here again let us attack the disease and not the symptom. What is it that makes us communal? I do not believe that it is our different religions. It is our social system that is to blame. We are not even Hindus and Muslims, for our social system has divided us into a thousand distinct ethnological groups quite apart from our large provincial divisions. Khojas marry Khojas and are Khojas first and last. Bhatias marry Bhatias and are Bhatias first and last. This creates a strong exclusive mentality so well brought out by the tremendous nepotism that is such a glaring feature of our life. Fundamentally, few people are "anti" anybody else but the social system, and the joint family system in particular, makes them so "pro" themselves that they have no time for anybody else. We are nepotistic rather than communal and a very large part of what is considered as communalism is nepotism pure and simple. The

solution, therefore, is not social reform, which again treats the symptom, but to attack the disease which is our many, many distinct ethnological groups. These must be shattered before any real national union can take place, and the only remedy I can see is inter-marriage. In no other country in the world could one seriously put this forward as a national need since marriage is essentially a personal affair and you cannot dictate or command that one person should fall in love with a member of another community. In India, fortunately, marriages based on love are still rare and arranged marriages the general rule. If, therefore, once inter-marriage is generally advocated, thousands of such marriages could be arranged with little difficulty. By inter-marriage I do not mean only Hindu-Muslim marriages; I fully realise these would be more difficult, but Hindu-Hindu and Muslim-Muslim inter-marriage is vitally necessary. Bhatia and Lohana, Jat and Rajput, Gujerati and Maharatta, Brahmin and non-Brahmin, Khoja and non-Khoja, Shia and Sunni and so on. Just see what happens in other countries of the world. Let us take England. A young Scot leaves Scotland and settles in London. In all probability he will meet some nice English girl down there and marry her; so will his son and soon that family is neither English nor Scottish but British of Scot extraction.

In India, on the other hand, there are Gujerati merchants settled for generations in Madras and Sindhi merchants settled in Bombay. Yet, every generation will go back for his wife not only to his Province but, perhaps, to the very village he came from originally. It is this sort of thing that keeps us in such distinct ethnological groups. It is absolutely ridiculous that in 1944 two young Hindus or Muslims living, perhaps, next door to each other, should not be allowed to marry but must go miles and miles away to find their respective wives or husbands. What we need are Indian families of Gujerati or Maharatta or Punjabi extraction. India, today, is a basket of eggs, and as long as we remain in different shells it matters little how much these shells are in contact with each other in the same basket. What we have to do is to break the shells that keep us as many different eggs. And this is only possible through inter-marriage and I place this before you not as an ideal but as a serious and perfectly practicable proposition.

As we are divided and sub-divided by our social system so are we divided by the many languages we speak; another vital need therefore is an All-India language. A very interesting symposium called the "National Language of India" edited by Dr. Z. A. Ahmad has been published by Kitabistan and I would advise you all to read it. The general consensus of opinion is that the language, loosely known as Hindustani, has a 75% common vocabulary whether spoken by Muslims or Hindus. Muslims use more Persian and Hindus use

more words of Sanskrit origin but 75% of the vocabulary is common. It is also admitted that while this language is known as Hindustani, few use this term. The Muslims call it Urdu and the Hindus call it Hindi.

I believe that the use of names such as Hindi and Hindustani is a great psychological mistake. Urdu is a national language evolved through years of Hindu and Muslim cultural contact and, as stated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, is essentially an Indian language and has no place outside. If, therefore, it is considered that there are too many Persian words, the solution is to lessen them and to introduce more Sanskrit words. To state it differently the opposite of Persianized Urdu should not be Sanskritized Hindi but Sanskritized Urdu. Even in writing, Urdu could be written in either Persian or Nagari Script. But the word Urdu should be retained and the murder of this word, for it is virtually murdered, constitutes a great psychological set-back to national unity. Even Mahatma Gandhi neatly dropped Urdu in inventing the phrase Hindi-Hindustani. I believe very strongly that the word Urdu should be used to describe the national language but if people cannot bring themselves to use this word, then let us drop both Urdu and Hindi and use Hindustani. Unfortunately the word Hindi is being brought more and more into use and this word is, frankly, a constant irritant to Muslim opinion.

I have, of course, been dealing so far with our fairly common spoken language. When we come to the written language we are, of course, immediately faced by the script problem. The consensus of opinion in the symposium was that both scripts should be taught and either used in accordance to the preference of the writer. This is a decision based on evasion and is therefore very unsatisfactory. Just imagine the strain to which the child is exposed. He will have to learn his provincial script, then Persian and Devanagari and, when he goes in for higher education, the Roman script. I believe the solution lies in adopting an adapted Roman script both for our national as well as our provincial languages. We will never have a real national language as long as it is in two scripts; for, Muslims will only use one and the Hindus the other, and in a national language we must understand not only what the other speaks but also what he writes. Roman script, scientifically adapted to Indian conditions, will enable a basic natural language to crystallise; it will facilitate inter-provincial cultural contacts since, if we can at least read the other provincial languages, we can more easily pick up a working knowledge; and finally Roman script will make easy the learning of English without which no higher education is possible, and which will be absolutely necessary in the very small world that will emerge after this war. Another great advantage of this script will be that it will pave the way for

mass literacy. In order to print Hindustani or Urdu it requires 650 matrices in the Persian or Arabic script. Nagari necessitates 350 matrices but the Roman script will require only 60. Our many languages are, therefore, a very definite cause of our disharmony and I put forward for a solution Urdu as the national language written in an adapted Roman script which should also be the script for our provincial languages. For the sake of compromise, however, I would be prepared to drop the word "Urdu" and accept "Hindustani" but, under no circumstances, "Hindi".

I have so far dealt with the social system and with language and I now come to politics. While it is not religion but our social system that is to blame for our communal differences, it is neither religion, nor our social system nor communal differences that is to blame for our political differences. Let us consider for a minute the functions of a Government. Its functions are best brought out by its departments. The departments of the Bombay Government are as follows:—Political and Services, Finance, Finance (Supply), Revenue, Home, Legal, General and Public Works. Now neither the most orthodox Brahmin nor the most fanatical Muslim can evolve a communal policy with regard to say the P. W. D. or Revenue or Law and Order or Finance. It is true that the communal question would arise in Education and the Services but both these points could easily be met.

We have political differences because we have political parties on a communal basis and this is due to one reason and one reason alone, and that is separate electorates. A separate political party is a natural corollary to separate electorates and when that separate party is in opposition its duty is to oppose. But its opposition is not due to communal differences but to party differences which is very different indeed. This is the disease in our body politic, and all the safeguards, guarantees, pacts and resolutions are merely treatments of the symptoms. National Unity is impossible as long as separate electorates exist and every possible attempt must be made, and no cost is too high, to get the Muslims into joint electorates. As things are, nothing is being done to give the Muslims any faith at all in joint electorates or to feel that under them any Muslims that remotely represent them will ever be returned.

Some of you will immediately point to Mr. Masani and to Mr. Meherally. With all respects, Mr. Masani's election as Mayor is not due to joint electorates but due to reservation of seats. While he is in every way fully fitted to be the first citizen of Bombay, he is so to-day because he is a Parsee, whose turn it was, and the only Parsee available in the Congress Municipal Party. Mr. Meherally is a typical example of my point that there is a difference between Muslim nationalism and Hindu nationalism. Mr. Meherally



is an Indian first and last but, apart from the relations and personal friends, has no roots in and little contact with the Muslim masses. In his last election he got, I believe, 80 Muslim votes. Many of his colleagues, on the other hand, have only roots in the Hindu masses and have no thoughts or contacts outside. He is, I am proud to say, an Indian. They are Hindus who have signed the Congress Pledge and that is the utmost that can be said of them.

Do not, however, imagine that I brand all Hindus thus. Many, many Hindus, especially the younger ones who think entirely on economic lines, and such as those who belong to Mr. Masani's group, are Indians first and last and have no trace of Hinduism in them. Neither are all nationalist Muslims like Mr. Meherally. There is today, in Bombay, a Muslim journalist who holds a Congress seat in the Assembly who is daily advocating in his paper a Government of Allah under which all Hindus will either have to be converted or else penalised. How such a person is allowed to remain in the Congress I really do not know. But, I repeat, after giving this matter every consideration, that the average nationalist Muslim is as much nationalist as anti-British and least of all communal whereas the average Nationalist Hindu is primarily anti-British, secondly communal and lastly national. This has given nationalism a Hindu atmosphere and contributes greatly to communal disharmony.

Every attempt must, therefore, be made to introduce joint electorates and, however difficult it may be and however long it may take, you may rest assured that in spite of a thousand Congress-League Pacts until there are joint electorates there will not be national union. This necessitates great broad-mindedness and statesmanship from members of the major community, qualities completely absent in past negotiations. The plan that holds the field is joint electorates with reservation of seats of which a variation was the Scheme known as the Mohamed Ali Formula under which there would be joint electorates with reservation of seats but with the proviso that no candidate would be declared elected unless he had secured 40% of the votes cast by his own community, and secondly, at least 5% of the votes cast by other communities wherever he was in a minority of 10 or less per cent, and 10% votes where he was in a larger minority or in a majority. This scheme, very fair on the surface since the Muslims are guaranteed as many seats as their numbers justify, is however regarded by the Muslims with intense suspicion and I am very doubtful whether they will under the present circumstances agree. "The whole object of election", say the Muslims, "is to send to the Legislature a representative. Muslims may be returned but whom will they represent? In the average electorate Hindus predominate and the Muslim returned will be their representative and not ours." Such an argument has

some substance in a province such as Bombay but what about the Muslim majority provinces such as the Punjab and the North West Frontier ? I can see no possible objection on the part of the Muslims to the introduction of joint electorates in the Muslim majority provinces and if the problem is, as I have suggested, tackled on a purely provincial basis and if the Congress and League High Commands keep their heavy hands off, it is quite possible that the local leaders would come to a perfectly satisfactory arrangement which, after all, is theirs and nobody else's business.

Now what about the Muslim minority provinces? The Muslim fear here undoubtedly holds good. I have already referred to Mr. Meherally's election. The Muslims should be proud of him and nothing that he will do will be against Muslims and everything that he will do will be for the benefit of the Muslims as much as anybody else. But with the wide gulf that separates the Hindu and Muslim masses, which not even hunger has been able to bridge, you cannot blame the Muslims for not considering anyone, however competent, who has been elected on practically entirely a Hindu vote as a Muslim representative. The plain fact is that as long as we are Hindus and Muslims, the minority is entitled to representatives who will advocate the minority's point of view. Under joint electorates they fear that the elected representatives will advocate only the majority point of view; their fears must be met since joint electorates can be introduced only with their agreement and not by force. To meet this fear I have a suggestion to make which is very simple and that is to give the Muslims two votes. This may sound startling and even unfair at first sight, but my suggestion is that in the general constituencies everybody should vote and that in addition there should be special Muslim constituencies in accordance with their numbers. That is, the Muslim constituencies will be supplementary and not complementary. By this scheme Muslims are guaranteed their proportional number of representatives of their own choosing and have, in addition a chance of increasing their number through the general electorate. But against this privilege they must be prepared to give up weightage.

• There is nothing new in this suggestion except that it will be applied to Muslims and not to special interests. Every member of the University Senate and of the Merchants' Chamber, to give two examples, already have two votes; so I cannot see any great objection to giving Muslims two votes. On the other hand, there will be the great advantage in getting them into joint electorates. This will be a good test for the Hindus also; if they play the game fairly and a sufficient number of Muslims are returned, then the fear of joint electorates will prove to be false, and we will be in a position to take the next step. Some communal Hindus may say that by this means the Muslims may get more seats than their numbers warrant. The answer to

this is that provided the extra Muslims are returned from a joint electorate what does it matter ? They are, technically, representatives of both Hindus and Muslims and, if anything more of the Hindus.

I fully realise that my suggestion is in no sense a solution and might well be said to have the vices of both systems and the virtues of neither. This, actually, is the only reason why it might be considered at all as I will attempt to explain. At present there seems to be no reason whatsoever why Muslims should give up separate electorates. There are, on the other hand, many reasons why they should retain them. First, there is the open encouragement to the League's attitude given by the British Government and the repeated assurances given to them couched in such language as to encourage them to "stick to their guns" provided, of course, that those "guns" are pointed at the Congress. Listen, for instance, to the stirring words of Mr. Churchill. After a long diatribe against the Congress in Parliament on September 10, last year, he said :—

“Outside that party, and fundamentally opposed to it, are 90 million Muslims in British India who have their rights of self-expression. . . . It is fortunate, indeed, that the Congress Party has no influence whatever with the martial races on whom the defence of India, apart from the British forces, largely depends. Many of these races are divided by unbridgeable religious gulfs from the Hindu Congress and would never consent to be ruled by them, nor shall they ever be against their will so subjugated.”

I have described Mr. Churchill's words as stirring and I think it is a correct description. If such words do not "stir" disharmony none will. If they are not an open invitation to intransigence and separatism, I do not understand English. Secondly, there is the tragic history of past communal negotiations and the criminal stupidity of Hindu Leaders. The tragedy is heightened by the fact that in many of these negotiations Mr. Jinnah was the chief advocate of joint electorates and his experiences are fresh in his mind. I would advise political students to study the proceedings of the All Parties National Convention at Calcutta over 15 years ago at which the Muslims were prepared to accept joint electorates, which broke down on the issue whether the Muslims should have 33½% or 30% of seats in the Central Legislature, and the negotiations in London which preceded the Communal Award. A study of such negotiations will give political students a greater sympathy for the Muslim case. It must be recognised that though Mr. Jinnah has, today, lost all sense of proportion, he is largely what some criminally stupid Hindu leaders have made him.

Lastly, it must be remembered that separate electorates have built up

their own vested interests. The members of the Muslim political caucus that controls Muslim politics are entirely dependent on separate electorates for their return to the Central and Provincial Legislatures and fully realise that under any system of joint electorates, an entirely different type of Muslim will be returned. Therefore, they will be very careful not to adopt any measure in which there is the slightest risk of self-liquidation.

Under my scheme their position is secure but side by side with the "vice" of separate electorate is the "virtue" of joint electorate. Therefore, while it is no solution, I claim that it is an advance on the present position. Apart from constituting electorates in which Hindus will have to canvass Muslim votes—an excellent brake on their communalism—it will greatly stimulate nationalism amongst the Muslims. In the final analysis Muslim nationalism is the solution to Muslim communalism but today few politically minded Muslims can be national or socialist minded and yet hope to be returned from a communal electorate. Whether even this scheme will be accepted I cannot say but the fact that Muslims are guaranteed representatives of their own choosing in accordance with their numbers and, in addition, not only the opportunity of increasing their numbers but also of being able to use their votes to return those Hindus whom they find more sympathetic, are advantages which merit serious consideration.

I have now given you what I consider the three main reasons for communal disharmony or, as I would prefer to term it, lack of national union. These are our Social System which is National Enemy No. 1; Separate Electorates and the lack of a real National Language and Script. These are questions which lie at the very roots of our way of life and to dig them out we will have to dig deep. What about the questions that lie on the surface? Never dismiss a point as being just superficial. It is the superficial that the eye sees first and the brain grasps the most easily. Therefore, it is with no hesitation nor apology that I now deal with the superficial. I have already referred to the Hindu Swimming Bath. I would like to refer to it in greater detail. As far as Bombay is concerned, the Congress Government while in power passed no Act which was remotely anti-Muslim. They, however, made many mistakes in detail and there was, undoubtedly, a certain amount of nepotism. Their greatest mistake was not forming a Coalition Government—even this profound mistake pales into insignificance, as far as the public is concerned—but giving land for this Bath and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel performing the opening ceremony. It is all very well asking the Muslims to cease being communal but what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. Even to-day a very prominent Congressman, who is I believe still in jail, is the Honorary Treasurer. His resigning from the Swimming Bath

Committee will do more for his country than spending the rest of his life in jail.

Another superficial question about which I hold strong views is the question of dress. I can see no reason why people, who need not do it, cling to denominational dress. Let me tell you that I feel much more comfortable talking to a Hindu in trousers than in a *dhoti* or to a bareheaded Muslim to one wearing a fez. Just think what happens in our mind as we go down any main street. We see two Parsee ladies standing before a shop window; a Borah is standing at the door of his shop; three Hindu clerks are walking along, and so on. As long as this mental census goes on, we cannot help but think on communal lines and communal thinking is the father of communal disharmony. Have you ever seen a photo of the Congress Cabinet? Because they are dressed differently, the two figures that stand out are Dr. Gilder and Mr. Nurie. All this is very unhealthy. Long before we can have a common identity or ideology, we must, at least, have some degree of common appearance and if you ask me to make a list of single factors that will contribute to national union, very high in the list will be a pair of trousers. Of course, I fully realise that in a country in which every anna counts, trousers are ruled out by considerations of cost alone. But what about those of us who can afford to drop denominational dress? I believe that they should do so. I am convinced that it will make a great psychological difference.

Another plea I should like to make is for more understanding of other peoples' objections and a positive attempt to meet those objections. Let me give you a case which is, perhaps, unimportant. Take the singing of *Bande Mataram*. Though this song originally appeared in an anti-Muslim book and in fact was the anthem of those who went to drive out Muslims from Bengal, I fully realise that not one per cent of those who sing it even know this fact and all sincerely regard it as a true National Anthem. I also realise that not one per cent of Muslims were aware of the origin of the song or objected to it. But this is no longer so. Thanks to Muslim League propaganda, every Muslim considers *Bande Mataram* anti-Muslim. Then why should we not drop it? We are prepared to die for our country; we are prepared to go to jail for years and years for our country; but we are not prepared to stop singing *Bande Mataram*. Where is our sense of proportion? Just imagine what the psychological effect would be if the Congress stated that in view of Muslim objection they would gladly drop *Bande Mataram* and adopt say *Hindusthan Hamara* which has the supreme advantage of having been written by a Muslim.

Now I have asked you to be clear in your mind about the word "national". I also ask you to be clear in your mind about the word

"majority". Let me tell you at once that I do not agree with those who say that democracy is unsuited to India. The greatest good of the greatest number can be the only basis for any action, and likewise the rule of the majority the only rule. But what is meant by "majority"? Obviously, a major cross-section of the people and that is the whole point. The majority should be horizontal and not vertical, and the whole trouble in India is that the majority is vertical. In India, therefore, the greatest good of the greatest number should mean the greatest good of the greatest cross-section. It is because of the vertical aspect that majority rule has become Hindu rule and there is so much of what I have described as hidden-Hinduism in democracy. The Mahasabha, for instance, is technically correct, indeed, in saying that since the Hindus are in a majority, what is for the good of the Hindus is good for India and is perfectly democratic according to accepted standards. The fear of the vertical majority is another of the chief causes of communal disharmony. When you talk of democracy, therefore, remember that it means the greatest good of the greatest cross-section and not the greatest good of the greatest community.

This, of course, is for the Hindus to remember but what about the Muslims? Muslims should remember that the vertical majority is the direct corollary of separate electorates and the fact that it operates against the Muslims is an argument in favour of joint electorates. There is little use in saying that democracy is unsuited to India, meaning thereby that it is unsuited to the Muslims of India. It is for the Muslims to make democracy suitable by converting the dreaded majority from vertical to horizontal through joint electorates. The cross-section can only be reached through electorates. One method of forming the cross-section that has been suggested and is, in some quarters, actually being canvassed, is the Statutory Coalition. As long as we have our vertical divisions, I quite agree that a coalition government is the obvious remedy, but I am against making the coalition statutory. We should refuse to assume that vertical divisions will continue for all time and the coalition should be considered as making the best of a bad job. It is, therefore, essentially a make-shift and a temporary expedient. To make it statutory would stabilise and perpetuate, even statutorily, a situation we wish gradually to bring to an end.

There is a greater objection still. While, at first sight, a statutory coalition would appear to lessen communalism through the formation of a joint government, it might actually increase it.\* If a coalition government is statutory, it means that no government can be formed till the minority agrees to join it. This places too great a weapon in the hands of the minority. By holding up the formation of the government till their demands are met, a

minority can make the most exaggerated demands, and, even after the formation of the government, can constantly hold over the heads of the majority the threat of resignation till their demands are granted. To reduce it to the absurd, the 5% Muslims of Madras and the 5% Hindus of the North West Frontier Province could dictate any terms they like to the 95% majority. I do not say that this is likely to happen but it is by no means beyond the bounds of possibility. Therefore, while agreeing that as long as separate electorates exist, there should be coalition governments, I believe that the coalition should be by convention and not by statute.

My last point which some will, perhaps, consider to be the most important, is the economic aspect. Economically, the first thought of both the Hindus and Muslims is bread, and the only difference seems to be that the Hindus blame the British and the Muslims blame the Hindus for the lack of it. A good government, which will raise the economic position and the standard of living of the masses is, of course, the solution and this can only be on a national basis. For instance, only debt redemption and cheap credit will considerably improve the position; for, the Hindu Bania and the Muslim Pathan have contributed as much as anybody to communal disharmony. But, as I have already said, all this can only be on a National or All-India or All-Provincial basis. It has no communal aspect, though it can bring about great communal reactions for the good.

But communal disharmony is, unfortunately, common among the middle-class, and though the middle-class is microscopic, due to our social and ethnological differences, the masses more naturally follow their own middle-class. Politically they have no other alternative owing to the existence of separate electorates. The Muslim middle-class is, economically behind the Hindu middle-class, and this is a problem to which I have devoted some special study. My conclusion is it is largely the Muslims' own fault that they are behind, and the remedy is for the Muslims themselves to be more commercial minded. Business firms may belong to members of certain communities but business is becoming more and more joint-stock; and assuming that Messrs. Walchand & Co. is entirely Hindu and that even the Managing Agency Firm of Tata Sons is predominantly Parsee, any Muslim can share in their activities and prosperity by buying shares of their companies. But a communal case exists in the sphere of employment. While I have come across no Muslim who does not employ Hindus, there are hundreds and hundreds of Hindu firms which do not employ a single Muslim. This is wrong and it is a reason why these firms are, in Muslim eyes, Hindu firms instead of business firms of whom the proprietors or managers are Hindus. I realise the difficulty of finding suitable Muslims for mercantile posts. But it is a question

of supply and demand. There is practically no demand and hence the supply is small. Let there be a positive demand and, if not immediately, very soon there will be adequate supply. Greater employment of Muslims by Hindus will contribute much to communal harmony amongst the middle-class, which in turn, will for certain influence the masses very quickly.

Now to conclude. I have placed before you what are my personal views on this very difficult and highly controversial question and, perhaps, I have emphasised what others would not and have left out what others would emphasise. This is inevitable in any personal approach. Let me now place before you the conclusions I have arrived at:—

I believe that, as a first step, we should develop and encourage healthy provincialism. If it is said that there is no such thing as an Indian, there is certainly no such thing as a Hindu or Muslim either. The whole concept of a Hindu nation and a Muslim nation is false. But there are, undoubtedly, such people as Bengalees, Gujeratis, Maharashtrians, etc., which include people of all faiths. We should, I suggest, develop this tendency. Some may say that by encouraging provincialism, instead of a Hindu-Muslim problem we shall have a dozen inter-provincial problems. I do not think so. If we can make Mr. Fazlul Haq and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee into good Bengalees first and Mr. K. M. Munshi and Sir Sultan Chinoy into good Gujeratis first, to make them into good Indians it will be comparatively simple. It is the first river that is difficult to cross. Moreover, geographical and cultural patriotism is never so strong as ethnological patriotism and the former can be extended; the latter cannot.

Consider how little we in Bombay have exploited the Gujerati language. It is the mother tongue of the Jains, Bhatias, Lohanas and all the Hindus of Gujerat; it is the mother tongue of the Khojas, Bohras, Memons and several other Muslim communities of Gujerat, and it is the mother tongue of the Parsees. Have we ever tried to bring together the Gujerati-speaking people? We have in Bombay a great Gujerati revivalist, author and politician who heads all kinds of Gujerati movements. I have not seen non-Hindu names associated with him. He typifies the Hindu nationalist to whom I have referred earlier. In his mind only Hindus are Gujeratis and as for the Muslims and Parsees, they may be in Gujerat but they are not of it. His communalism is greater than his knowledge; for, 99% of the Muslims of Gujerat are converts, so even ethnologically they are as much Gujerati as any Jain from Ahmedabad. We have here a great bond which we should weld. I do not think that pure religion is to blame for our disharmony but I repeat that our Social System is our *National Enemy Number One*. To break this system will require great sacrifices and will involve social boy-



cott, ostracism and excommunication. Yet it must be done and Young India must do it.

I believe that Separate Electorates are our *Political Enemy Number One* and that the solution to this lies in the Hindus winning the confidence of the Muslims not by words but by deeds. It is ironical that the Muslims should feel compelled to cling to separate electorates when, in actual fact, such electorates are against their interests. Separate electorates perpetuate a communal majority and are, therefore, to the advantage of the majority. Only through joint electorates will the Muslims be able to break the vicious circle of Hindu rule. While, therefore, the majority must be statesmanlike and generous, the Muslims must also be prepared to take a risk which, in the long run, is in their favour. In the Muslim majority provinces there is not even a risk. Joint electorates are in their favour from every point of view.

I believe that the adoption of a common script is essential and that this should be the Roman script scientifically adapted. I know all the arguments against it and we may certainly lose something by its adoption. But I am convinced that we will gain much more, much of which may not be apparent at present.

I believe that freedom from want is one of the chief antidotes to communal disharmony but not the chief one. We hear a lot from Bengal about the famished thinking only of food and not of religion or community. I do not doubt it. Self-preservation is the strongest instinct. But I believe that this is so only while there is no food. As soon as food is forthcoming, the vicious circles of our social and political systems will immediately again begin to rotate and make themselves felt.

I believe that the chief solution is self-decommunalisation. Political freedom may be secured by an ingenious constitution swollen with safe-guards, guarantees to minorities, charters of right and so on ; but that will not bring about National Union. A Hindu-Muslim Pact will undoubtedly produce the right atmosphere in which unifying forces can work but we will not become national from the top but from the bottom by each one of us divesting ourselves of our communal attitudes. British propaganda is notoriously bad but during their anxious time, they produced a slogan which was an inspiration. This was the single sentence : "It all depends on me". I commend this slogan to you. National Union will only come when all of us say to ourselves and mean it : "National Union depends on me". My last words, therefore, are : Let us decommunalise ourselves. Let us think big; Let us think culturally; Let us think Provincially; Let us think INDIAN.

## BOMBAY LABOUR COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE AT WORK

Y. D. MAHAJAN

In these days when labour is ignorant and management suspected there is need to know the actual working of the Labour Office and the work it is doing for labour. In this study the writer gives an account of the structure and functions of the Bombay Government Labour Commissioner's Office in due historical perspective and setting.

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**B**OMBAY is the most industrialized province in the whole country. In all it has 2,495 factories employing 41,79,103 workers. The major industry is the cotton industry. It has 1,40,970 looms and 60,16,927 spindles and absorbs about 2,39,259 workers. The mills yield nearly 38% of yarn produced in British India. The main industrial cities are Bombay, Sholapur, Ahmedabad, Amalner, Surat, Broach and Viramgaon.

Between 1919 and 1921 industrial peace in Bombay was threatened to a large extent. In 1920 there were two general strikes in the city, one lasting six weeks and the other, one month, and involving 1,50,000 workers. Sholapur experienced the same phenomenon. Besides these textile strikes, there were strikes in the railways, tramways, etc., affecting thousands of workers. At that time the country was recovering from the hardships of the Great War and the people were not prepared to undergo greater hardships accompanying industrial unrest.

*Origin of the Labour Office.*—Neither the Government nor the public was prepared to meet this unexpected epidemic of strikes. The former had to devise some means to solve industrial problems. The first task, therefore, before the newly constituted Bombay Council (under the Montford Reforms) was to decide upon such a measure. Then Government came forward with a proposal to start a Labour Bureau with a view to gather information regularly regarding the wages, housing and rents, cost of living, conditions of work, etc., of the industrial worker in the province as also to advise the Government in matters relating to labour. For this purpose a grant of Rs. 70,000 was provided. This proposal received a slight opposition from the representatives of industrialists in the Council but the amount was ultimately sanctioned, in the first instance for one year only. Thus the establishment of the Labour Office came about.

The Labour Bureau started its work in April 1921. To cope with the intricate problems arising out of industrialization, the Government requis-

tioned the services of an eminent specialist from London, Mr. McLeod, to guide the work of the Bureau. The Bombay Council, being satisfied with the work of the Bureau, made it permanent in the Budget Session of 1922. As the Office began to expand, more grants were allotted to it. The present total annual expenditure is Rs. 90,000.

The Government laid down the following functions for the guidance of the Office :—(a) Labour Statistics and intelligence: These relate to the conditions under which labour works, and include information relating to the cost of living, wages, hours of work, family budget, strikes and lock-outs and similar matters. (b) Industrial Disputes: As intelligence and knowledge are gained and the activities of the Labour Office develop, it will promote the settlement of industrial disputes when these arise, and (c) Legislation and other matters relating to Labour: The Labour Office will advise Government from time to time as regards necessary new legislation for the amendment of existing laws.

The designation of the head of the department was "Director of the Labour Bureau". Mr. Findley Shirras, an eminent economist and statistician, was the first Director. He had a staff of two gazetted officers designated as Investigators, three non-gazetted Lady Investigators, two Statistical Assistants, three senior clerks, three stenographers, three typists, ten junior clerks and six peons. In 1925 as a retrenchment measure the Office of the Director of the Labour Bureau was amalgamated temporarily with the office of the Director of Information. The Chief of the combined office was the Director of Information and Labour Intelligence. This was continued till 1933 when the Government thought it expedient to separate the Labour Office from that of the Director of Information, and once again the Labour Office became independent with its own Chief who now came to be called the Commissioner of Labour. In addition to his own duties he was also given control over the Chief Inspector of Factories and the Chief Inspector of Boilers. The Investigators now came to be known as Assistant Commissioners of Labour.

Because of the increased and still increasing work of the Labour Office, Government thought it desirable to create a permanent post of Assistant Commissioner and two junior clerks. In 1939, the Labour Office had to take up the administration of the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act. To cope with the additional work, the Government sanctioned one more Superintendent and three junior clerks.

For administrative convenience the Office is divided into five different branches, which work under three Statistical Superintendents and are controlled by the three Assistant Commissioners. The work allotted to each

branch is as follows :—

*Branch I.*—Senior Accountant is in charge of the branch establishment. His duties are to look after the general registry, accounts, pay rolls, records and files and repairs to the office.

*Branch II.*—Senior Superintendent in charge is responsible for (i) the cost of Living Index in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur; (ii) Wholesale Price Index; (iii) Bombay Family Budget Inquiry; (iv) Other inquiries, such as rents.

*Branch III.*—Superintendent in charge of this branch sees to (i) The administration of The Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926; (ii) Collection of Wages Data; (iii) Collection of Employment Statistics; (iv) Quarterly Returns from Trade Unions; (v) Wage Inquiries (wage census); and (vi) Legislations.

*Branch IV.*—Senior Clerk in charge looks after (i) the publication of the Labour Gazette and (ii) the Labour Office Library.

*Branch V.*—Superintendent in charge is responsible for (i) the administration of the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act, 1938; (ii) publication of industrial disputes statistics; and (iii) conciliation cases arising out of strikes.

*Indian Trade Union's Act.*—The working of the Indian Trade Union's Act in Bombay, 1918, may be taken as the starting point of the Trade Union Movement of India because while the industrialists made enormous profits during the War, the wages of the workers did not rise with the increasing cost of living. In the absence of special legislation recognizing the right of the workers to combine for the redress of grievances, the agitators were prosecuted under the general provisions of the Indian Penal Code relating to conspiracy. To remedy this defect Mr. N. M. Joshi introduced in 1921 in the Central Assembly an epoch-making Bill for the recognition by the State of the rights of the workers. It took five years for Mr. Joshi's proposal to bear fruit. In 1926, the Assembly passed the Indian Trade Union's Act which came into force in May 1927.

The Act seeks to encourage the Movement and its running along the right lines. It does not enforce registration on every Union but to enjoy the privileges granted by the Act registration is imperative. These privileges are that the registered Unions are immune from certain criminal and civil liabilities. It imposes certain obligations on registered unions: the submission of annual returns, supply of certain information regarding the financial position, etc. These impositions are resented by some unions, and hence is their unwillingness to be registered.

Under the Act the Commissioner of Labour becomes the Registrar of

**Unions.** To guide and advise new unions, the Commissioner has prepared a draft constitution which, with suitable modifications, can satisfy the needs of any worker's union. The Commissioner scrutinizes every constitution presented to him and so modifies it as to fit in with the provisions of the Act. The Act has put an additional strain on the Labour Office as it has to see to the registration of the unions and the operation of the provisions of the Act. Unfortunately for the Office insufficient and sometimes even incorrect data are furnished by the unions seeking registration. Moreover, even after registration several unions do not furnish a statement of Annual Returns or changes and alterations of the office-bearers or amendments to the constitution. This inflicts unnecessary work on the Labour Office which has to make inquiries through the police and other sources. Though the Act has been in operation for over 14 years, the assistance of the Office is still required by the unions in preparing the Annual Reports. The Registrar has to keep a watchful eye on the activities of the unions as some of them do not faithfully follow their constitutions. Despite these shortcomings of the unions and their office-bearers, the Registrar has hitherto shown exemplary patience and given the unions much scope to develop themselves. The view taken by him and his office—and it is the correct view—is that Trade Unionism in India is still in its infancy and hence it is their duty to encourage and foster it, rather than to thwart its growth by harsh measures against erring unions. The soundness of this view can be easily appreciated by the growth in the number of the Registered Trade Unions in the Province.

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of all Unions</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>No. of Registered Unions</i>	<i>Membership</i>
1930	86	1,25,313	35	81,319
1935	108	1,06,201	44	90,853
1940	165	1,85,390	77	1,62,375

Although there is an annual increase in the number of unions, they are not all prepared to get themselves registered. This is partly due to the objection of the Trade union leaders to the restrictive clauses of the Act. But their greatest grievance is that, in spite of registration with the Labour Office, their employers do not recognise them. Hence their demand that the Act should be amended to compel the employers to recognise all registered unions. The Government has turned a deaf ear to this very moderate and legitimate demand. In this respect the Majdur Mahajan Association of Ahmedabad is an exception as it commands respect both from the State and the industrialists.

Some of the unions registered with the provincial governments are recognised by the Government of India if they satisfy some higher qualifica-

tions laid down in the Act. The Registrar has to certify the eligibility or otherwise of the unions. The Government of India Act, 1935, has imposed one more duty on him. Seven seats in the Bombay Legislative Assembly are reserved for labour organised in unions, which fulfil the conditions laid down in the Act (of 1936). The Registrar recommends the names of all such unions. He alone is empowered to carry out all functions relative to this election, such as preparing the electoral roll, receiving the nomination papers, conducting the election, counting the votes and declaring the results.

The Labour Office publishes a Quarterly Review which furnishes information about Trade Unions, registered and unregistered. A large majority of unions co-operate with the Office in the preparation of the Review.

*Industrial Disputes.—Bombay Industrial Disputes Act.* The second phase of industrial unrest began in 1928, the main causes being rationalization and wages reduction. This epidemic spread throughout the length and breadth of India affecting factories and railways. In Bombay, the strikes continued for months. Although the workers put up a strong fight they had ultimately to give in. Most of the strikes were unsuccessful and in a few instances very negligible demands were granted. After 1935 the boom period set in and the industries began to prosper. Naturally, the workers demanded the restoration of wages which were cut during the preceding depression and once again strikes were the order of the day. Between 1927-39 the workers lost 12 crores of rupees by way of wages in the Bombay Province alone. Out of 1,192 strikes in the province as many as 1,118 were unsuccessful due to the ineffective organisation of the Trade Unions. Till 1934, there was no check on the millowners to prevent them from making changes advantageous to themselves and their interests. They were free to act as they liked. Also there were no rules or regulations to stabilize the relations of the workers and industrialists.

In 1934, the Trade Disputes Conciliation Act came to be applied to the cotton textile mills, benefiting the workers in a measure. It provided for a Labour Officer to look to the complaints and redress the grievances of the workers, and the Commissioner of Labour was to act as Chief Conciliator. It, however, did not prevent the industrialist from altering the wages rates, etc. It did not go far enough in quelling industrial strife. When the Congress ministry assumed office in Bombay in August 1939 it sought to perpetuate industrial peace in the province by facilitating discussion between the workers and the industrialists.

The Bombay Industrial Disputes Act, 1938, made it obligatory on the parties to a trade dispute to obtain a settlement by conciliation before

resorting to a strike or lock-out. It replaced the earlier Act of 1934. It provides for registration of Trade Unions, conciliation proceedings, arbitration and Industrial Court, illegal strikes and lock-outs, and penalties. It is clumsily worded in some sections and hence its interpretation and application are made somewhat difficult. The administration of work under the Act falls to the Labour Commissioner's Office which relies on its own resources and knowledge when confronted with obstacles in the application of the clauses of the Act. To cope with this additional work a separate branch under a Superintendent with four clerks to assist him has been opened. The Labour Commissioner is the ex-officio Chief Conciliator and the two Assistant Commissioners in Bombay and the one in Ahmedabad are Conciliators. Another Assistant Commissioner is appointed the Registrar. This Act is applicable, hitherto, only to the cotton textile mills in the province, silk mills in Bombay City and woollen mills in Bombay and Thana.

Workers' unions are classified under two heads—Representative and Qualified—the former having the right to carry on negotiations with the employers and the Conciliator on behalf of the workers represented by it, provided some of the employees affected are its members. Till 1941 only two unions in the province were declared Representative Unions—the Amalner Girni Kamgar Union and the Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad. This unnecessary complication for the registration of unions is difficult to understand as it is likely to prove unwholesome in its ultimate effect. Trade unionism in our country is of recent origin and has to be fostered, organised and developed. It is the duty of the State to help it in every way and provide facilities which will conduce to the growth of genuine trade unions. Unfortunately, the Act imposes certain heavy and almost impractical conditions, such as 25% membership or recognition by the employees, which is certainly an impediment in the natural growth of unions. Further, it is unwholesome to impose a condition upon a certain union as a registered union only on its recognition by the employers. As a result of this, Company unions patronised by the employers, instead of genuine unions, may be formed to oust the workers' own union. On the contrary, the just thing would have been to make it obligatory on the employers to recognise unions with a membership of not less than 5% in any industry; or, the Act should at least provide for their registration irrespective of the employers' recognition.

The Act advocates certain standing orders in the mills for regulating the relations between the employers and the workers with regard to wages, hours of work, leave, dismissal, termination of services, etc. The Commissioner of Labour must be notified, and if there is any trouble about the acceptance of these orders by either party an appeal can be filed in the In-

dustrial Court. These orders, once accepted, cannot be altered before the expiry of six months. They are to be registered in a special register maintained for the purpose and they come into operation from the date of their registration or ten days after the decision of the Commission, whichever is later. These orders greatly check the despotic rule of the employers who cannot alter the standing orders without notifying and obtaining the consent of the representatives of the employees. They cannot dismiss the workers without fourteen days' notice required by the orders, and in case of a dispute they have to go in for conciliation. .

Any changes in the standing orders or any dispute between the employers and employees must be brought to the notice of the Labour Officer, Commissioner and Registrar. The Conciliator, as soon as he receives the notice of an industrial dispute enters the dispute in the Register of Industrial Disputes. Conciliation proceedings are then deemed to have commenced. The Chief Conciliator is empowered to intervene at any stage in any conciliation proceedings and can continue with or without the assistance of the Conciliator. If for any reason conciliation fails, a report has to be made through the Chief Conciliator to the Government which may refer the matter to the Board of Conciliation. The Board consists of a chairman and an equal number of members selected by the Government from panels representing the employers and the employees. These panels are selected from the names recommended to the Labour Office, on its invitation, by associations of employers and employees. However, an employer or a registered union may, by mutual agreement, submit any dispute to the private arbitration of an individual or of the Industrial Court. All arbitration awards are made binding on both the parties to the dispute. The Registrar has to register and publish the awards in the Government Gazette. .

The Act provides for a Court of Industrial Arbitration to decide disputes submitted to it and to deal with other matters within the purview of the Act. The Court consists of two or more persons, one of whom is the President. They should not be connected with any industry and at least one member must hold or have held a high judicial position. Its duties are (i) to decide all matters referred to it by the Registrar; (ii) to decide appeals against the decision of the Commissioner of Labour with regard to the standing orders; (iii) to decide industrial disputes referred to it; and (iv) to decide whether a strike or lock-out or change is illegal. It has the same powers as other courts under the Code of Criminal Procedure. Its verdicts are binding on all parties, there are no appeals against them in any Civil or Criminal Court.

One of the defects of the Act was the inability of the Provincial



Government to compel both the parties to the dispute to go to the Industrial Court. This grave defect was removed in May 1941 as the Government thought it to be in public interest to compel the parties to an industrial dispute to have recourse to the Industrial Court for the duration of the war.

*Family Budget Inquiry.*—The work of the Labour Office is not exhausted by the working of the Industrial Disputes Act. It also collects important statistical data concerning the ways and circumstances of life and living, essentially of the working classes. Family Budget Inquiry is conducted from time to time to obtain reasonably accurate information about the standards of living of definite groups. It also helps to fix the minimum wage-rate in relation to the standard of subsistence and in the compilation of the cost of living index. The Bombay Working Class Family Budget Inquiry of 1921-22 was undertaken by the Labour Office. It covered 2,473 family budgets and 600 single men's budgets. A more systematic and scientific inquiry was made ten years later, 1932. It was confined predominantly to working class areas in E, F and G Wards of the City. There was no conscious selection of families from the point of view of composition or income but it was limited to families (husband, wife and children) whose heads were in full time regular employment. The occupant of every 33rd tenement in the chawls were to give the required information. Both the "extensive" and "intensive" methods were employed. In the former, the investigators come in direct contact with the families concerned and fill in the information after obtaining a clear idea of each item in the questionnaire. In the latter, they select the tenements and request the occupants to write down the daily expenditure. The investigators as also the Labour Office are greatly handicapped as most of the workers are illiterate. In 1932, 1,469 questionnaires were satisfactorily filled in.

Information is obtained about the composition of the family, its native place, sources of income and details of expenditure on various items—food, clothing, fuel, lighting, rent, household utensils, conveyance to and from the work-place etc. A similar inquiry was made in 1941. The Office appoints women investigators who are better suited to this type of work than men. They have usually to tackle housewives who fight shy of giving any information to strangers. After the investigators complete the questionnaires, they are submitted to the office. They are immediately scrutinized by the Statistical Superintendent and the Assistant Commissioner.

*Cost of Living Index.*—The Labour Office periodically compiles and publishes the Cost of Living Index Number. Among the other data which the Office collects are statistics of Industrial Disputes to be published in the Labour Gazette. From these figures one can study the relation between the

disputes and industrial fluctuations. 1928-29 was a period of depression and the number of disputes and work-days lost reached their peak. One disastrous strike lasted from the middle of April to the beginning of October, 1928, causing a total loss of 22½ million working days, while in May alone of that period 4½ million working days were lost.

*Workmen's Compensation.*—The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 created the post of Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation. He is appointed by the Government only if the Labour Commissioner has no judicial qualification. The Labour Office has nothing to do with the duties of the Commissioner of Labour done in this respect, but the Office keeps monthly returns supplied by Compensation Commissioners. These returns relate to the nature of injuries, the amount of compensation granted, the compensations effected outside the court and the total number of cases handled. This information is tabulated and published monthly in the Labour Gazette.

*The Labour Gazette.*—The Labour Gazette also furnishes to the public information about the prosperity or otherwise of the cotton industry in Bombay and Ahmedabad by publishing statistics of night shifts. The mill-owners co-operate with the Office in willingly giving the required information. The collection of employment situation statistics is rendered easy by the voluntary co-operation of the mills. Since 1925 the Labour Office has also been entrusted with the collection of wages data including agricultural wages which are supplied by the *mamlatdars* of talukas. General wage census of industrial workers was undertaken in May 1934 and it covered all factories both permanent and seasonal. Even municipality and Government officers were included in it.

The Labour Gazette is as important to the Labour Office as oil to an engine. It is the medium of expression of the work of the Labour Office and a source of information to the general public interested in labour welfare. It justifies the existence of the Labour Office and its utility. The Government were advised to start the publication of the Gazette to inform the public and interested parties of the employment situation, and other particulars and conditions in the industries. It is a monthly journal which made its first appearance in 1921. It is not only a mouth-piece of, or advertising agent for, the Labour Office, but also furnishes information about labour conditions in the other countries of the world.

*Labour Office Library.*—The Labour Office maintains an up-to-date library of over 10,000 books. It consists of all the publications of the International Labour Office, Labour Legislation of the different countries—Britain, Canada, America, China, etc., and periodicals from various parts of the

world. The Library is open to those who specialise in labour problems with the previous permission of the Commissioner. Unfortunately, the books are scattered over the Labour Office due to want of space.

*Data for Labour Legislation.*—During these 20 odd years of its existence, the Labour Office has been instrumental in placing on the statute book some important legislation and amendments to legislation pertaining to labour welfare. It has also played its part in minimising opposition and conflict between capital and labour. It has drafted 4 Bills for the Provincial Government, two of which were dropped on the request of the Government of India while two others, the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act of 1938 and the Shop Assistants Act of 1939, have found their way into the statute book. To the Labour Office fall the tasks of drafting rules with regard to the Bombay Trade Unions Act, 1926, the Trade Disputes Act of India, 1929, and the Bombay Trade Disputes Conciliation Act, 1934.

Whenever the Government of India wishes to introduce labour legislation, the Government of Bombay calls upon the Labour Office to collect the necessary information and data. In this way it has helped to furnish data for the Bills to amend the Indian Factories Act, 1911; the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923; the Trade Disputes Bill, 1924; N. M. Joshi's Bill for Maternity Benefit, 1924-25; Payment of Wages Act, 1936; Prohibition of Pledging of Labour of Children and amendments to the Trade Disputes Act.

*Labour Welfare Work.*—One of the most recent developments of the Office is the appointment of another Assistant Commissioner in charge of labour welfare work in the whole province. He is assisted by Labour Welfare Officers and a large staff of both full-time and part-time workers. In Bombay City there are three welfare centres providing facilities for outdoor and indoor games, gymnasia, weekly cinema, periodical dramatic performances, reading rooms, library, canteens, educational classes and radio programmes. Each centre is in charge of a full-time Welfare Superintendent; men, women, and children can and do take advantage of the facilities at the centres. Part-time centres, numbering a dozen, have also been opened. Centres of similar welfare activities have been opened at Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Hubli, Viramgaon and Nadiad. It is in the fitness of things that labour welfare has come directly under the supervision and direction of the Labour Office and, specially, the Labour Commissioner who "looks after the interests of labour from its antenatal to its postnatal stages".

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

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### ADULT EDUCATION

**T**HE problem of adult education in India received a good deal of attention when the Congress governments were in power in the provinces. In India adult education programmes follow two main diversions. On one hand there is an attempt to increase the percentage of literacy, on the other attempts are made to provide University extension lectures to those who could not afford or who were not fortunate in receiving College education. Adult education presents very complex and difficult problems and requires far more systematic and scientific approach than has been the case upto now.

A recent pamphlet, "Suggested Studies in Adult Education" published by the Institute of Adult Education Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, 1942—though brief and concise in its contents, gives a very good idea about the fundamental consideration and planning of adult education before efforts are translated into action.

The Institute of Adult Education came into existence in 1941. It was a part of the Teachers' College at Columbia, and it was entrusted with the task of "Conducting an intensive study of the opportunities, problems, materials and methods of adult education, and for assistance in the training of leaders and writers in the field". The Institute further contemplated a programme of basic research along sociological, psychological and educational lines.

The Institute of adult education is a central body for the purpose of conducting research and for the purpose of guiding and training the leaders of adult education. It cannot be denied, that in spite of the complexity of the problem in India on account of the existence of many languages, a central body of experts is necessary to act as pioneers and determine the best methods that will contribute to the spread of knowledge and literacy and the increase of intelligence amongst the people of India.

It is unfortunate that the work of the Institute, which we should have liked to follow with great attention, has to be postponed during the duration of the war as the Institute has now to study problems of adult education that are closely related to the successful prosecution of the war. However, the small pamphlet is adequate at least to show in what manner the problem has to be tackled in this country. If during the war and during the absence of popular

governments it is not possible for the governments concerned to organize a systematic approach to the adult education problem, it is quite possible for educationists and the public to think of better ways for serving the most urgent cause that will help to uplift the country and prepare it for the efficient performance of important national tasks.

The pamphlet makes several interesting suggestions regarding fundamental problems like the production of printed materials for adult education including a manual for teachers and several manuals at different levels for students, materials for discussion, illustrations and pictorial representations, cinema lectures, etc. The adult education drive that was carried on in Bombay demonstrated the complete lack of preparedness in these directions so far as local conditions are concerned.

More instructive are the references to the administration of adult education, even though these are in the nature of questions that the Institute evidently desires to answer in detail later.

The American view of adult education covers a far wider panorama than is permitted by the circumscribed Indian horizon. It includes education in arts, consumer education, family education, health education, museum education, music education, political education, radio adult education, recreation education, religious education, vocational education, and a list of subjects so intimately connected with human life.

An interesting revelation of this pamphlet is the fact that the initiative for adult education is not left to a few societies created for the purpose, nor is it taken so much by the State, but the initiative is taken by all sorts of educational, religious, economic, political, welfare and other agencies that include adult education as a part of their programme. Such wide spread recognition of the need of adult education speaks of an awakened public consciousness which has yet to be created and developed in India.

India has not yet touched the fringe of an adult education programme. There is a lack of leadership and a dearth of teachers. Plans and methods have yet to reach maturity. There is a vast population to be dealt with, especially in the villages. In spite of the war, it is hoped that adult education will receive its due attention especially by the owners of industries and by the rural development department and a large number of public agencies catering to human welfare will introduce adult education as a part of the programme.

A vital need is the creation of a central research and direction organization for the whole country which can provide a meeting place for all thinkers on adult education problems and a laboratory for active workers who mean to devote their time and energy to the intellectual awakening of the masses of this country.

## WORLD AGENCY FOR EDUCATION

**A**MERICAN and British educators have unofficially agreed that a United Nations bureau for educational reconstruction must be a permanent part of future world government. American educators recently examined a report on "Education and the United Nations", prepared by a Joint Commission of the Council of Education in World Citizenship in London and published in the U. S. by the American Council on Public Affairs. They found the conclusions in substantial agreement with a similar report made in America by the Educational Policies Commission, a body appointed by the U. S. National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators. Both groups said that the shaping of the minds of men must be just as much a matter of permanent international concern after the war as political and economic machinery, if world peace is to be established.

*Prompt Action Needed.*—The reports of both organizations recommended a permanent international organization for education. They agree that such an organization should advance educational standards, promote education for world citizenship and international co-operation, appraise teaching materials, foster exchanges of teachers and students, encourage international broadcasting and further research on problems of international significance. Both agree that education for the understanding of international affairs and world citizenship must begin "as soon as possible in order to develop comprehension of the common purposes of the United Nations and to preserve their unity through the trying years ahead." On two major points, the educators have not reached agreement. One group recommends that subsidies be used to help the less wealthy nations attain an educational minimum; the other group proposes that only advisory assistance be provided.

• The Joint Commission favours compulsory control of education in post-war Germany to overcome the effects of Nazi mind-poisoning; the Educational Policies Commission does not. Commenting on publication of the Joint Commission's report, John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, said, "It presents in bold strokes a sketch of the problems which will attend the restoration, extension and improvement of education in postwar Europe. It invites discussion looking toward a clarification of proposals which may merit official collaboration by the United Nations."

*Eight Major Proposals.*—Principal proposals of the Joint Commission are as follows :—

"1. That the Governments be asked to recognize that the urgent tasks of educational reconstruction in the occupied countries, as soon as they have been set free, must be one of the chief responsibilities of the United Nations.

"2. That, for this reason, a United Nations Bureau for Educational

Reconstruction should be appointed now to prepare, and so far as possible put into operation, the necessary plans for meeting those needs which are too great for any one nation to bear alone.

"3. That, in any period during which Germany may be occupied, the occupying powers should exercise their control over education through a High Commissioner for Education who should be appointed in advance by the United Nations and be ready to start work at the moment the occupation begins.

"4. That the principal duties of the High Commissioner for Education should be to insure that the Nazi and militarist influences are utterly eradicated from German education, and to inspire, facilitate and supervise the re-education of the German people.

"5. That in order that the United Nations may remain united after the war, their peoples must be inspired by a dominating motive to provide greatly extended educational facilities, subsidized where necessary, by the community of nations, and education in the principles of world citizenship.

"6. That for the advancement of education generally and for the promotion of education in world citizenship, it is urgently necessary that the United Nations should agree to establish as soon as may be practicable, an international organization for education and should forthwith undertake the necessary preparations for that act.

"7. That such an organization should be one of the principal parts of any new international authority that may be created after the war on a world scale or for any group of states, and

"8. That it should be able to draw upon the wisdom of governments, education authorities, teachers, parents and students' associations, each of which should be represented upon it, so it may thus combine, with the authority of the Governments, the active participation of those upon whom will chiefly fall the task of carrying out its decisions."—USOWI.

#### EDUCATION OF THE BLIND

THE joint family in India has long shouldered the burden of looking after its blind members but it is only now that with the growth of urban civilization the visually handicapped persons are coming to be regarded as a social problem. Even in the West, the problem of caring for and educating the blind did not come to be regarded as a matter of social concern till the latter part of the eighteenth century. It was Valentin Haüy (1745-1822) who instituted the first systematic experiments in the methods of educating the blind, and founded the first school for the blind in 1784 in Paris. To him belongs the credit of being the first real teacher of the sightless. England followed this example and established its first institution in Liverpool in 1791. During the first half of

the nineteenth century many other institutions were founded in England. The teaching given during this period was, however, hampered by the fact that as yet no embossed type had been generally adopted. Hence books were limited in number and costly in price. In 1829 Louis Braille devised the six-point system which bears his name, and made reading and writing possible for the blind.

With the growth of the voluntary work, the British and Foreign Blind Association came to be founded in 1868 which is now known as the National Institute for the Blind. Gradually the voluntary organizations paved the way for State action. The Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act, 1893, laid upon the School Boards the duty of providing education for blind and deaf children, and the Act of 1902 provided both for elementary and higher education, including the vocational training of blind persons. Later the Education Act of 1918 provided for maintenance grants to pupils in training of blind persons. After the education of the blind was made compulsory, it became apparent that teachers should be properly equipped to teach the blind. To meet this need the College of Teachers of the Blind was established in 1908.

Thus the education of the blind gradually developed in Great Britain and is at present reasonably satisfactory. It covers the range from infancy to adolescence. The residential nursery school provides for the pre-school child, and the day or residential school gives education for blind youth between the ages of 5 to 16; at the adolescent stage the training centre fits the blind boy and girl for a trade, or the secondary school prepares them for a professional career or for the University.

Similarly, education of the blind has made much progress in the United States. In all but six of the 48 States of the American Union there are residential schools for these children. For the most part American schools for the blind do not offer programmes of vocational training, as it is taken care of by the State Commission, the department for the blind, or the State bureau of vocational rehabilitation.

There are several influential agencies to promote the welfare of the blind. Special mention must be made of the American Foundation for the Blind and the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness. The Foundation is a nation-wide organisation for the promotion of those interests of the blind which cannot be advantageously handled by local agencies. Its activities include: research in education, statistics, legislation, vocational opportunities, mechanical appliances, and publishing methods for the blind, including the manufacture of talking book records and reading machines, consultation service, assistance to state and community agencies in the promotion of legislation, organization of activities, and education of the public, special services



to blind individuals, scholarships for a limited number of promising students with satisfactory vocational objectives, and a special lending library on the welfare of the blind.

The Foundation is also conducting an Employment Service which was recently organized. This Service, which is available without charge to both seeing and blind workers, is designed to promote productive contacts between well-qualified professional workers and prospective employers. Its files include experienced people from every field of work with the blind, as well as young workers with professional training who wish to make service to the blind a career. The Employment Service does not, however, undertake to find employment for sightless people in general industry, business, or fields outside of work for the blind.

The purpose of the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness is to ascertain causes of blindness or impaired vision, to advocate measures leading to the elimination of such causes, to bring the knowledge of eye hygiene in popular form to children and adults, and to act as a clearing house and stimulating agent for others engaged directly or indirectly in the prevention of blindness. Among the services carried on by the Society are: combating pre-natal syphilis, preventing eye infections of new-born babies and eye accidents in child play, promoting eye health in the school program, promoting the integration of eye health programs in teacher education, establishing sight-saving classes and training special teachers, developing medical social service in eye clinics, eliminating eye hazards in industry, stimulating and sponsoring research in relation to the causes of blindness and impaired vision, providing the public with information concerning the care and use of the eye, and serving a clearing house on all matters pertaining to the prevention of blindness and the conservation of vision.

American workers for the blind lay great emphasis, and that rightly, on prevention of blindness. It is interesting to note that recently the Massachusetts Legislature passed three laws relating to the prevention of blindness and they are as follows:—(1) An act relative to recording on the birth certificate the use in an infant's eyes at birth of a prophylactic approved by the Department of Health. (2) An act relative to the reporting by physicians or hospitals to the Commissioner of Public Safety and to the local police authorities the treatment of wounds caused by B. B. guns or air rifles. (3) An act relative to the mandatory reporting of cases of established blindness to the Division of the Blind by the clinics, hospitals, physicians, or optometrists making the examinations.

When we consider the progress which the West has made in educating the sightless and in adopting measures for the prevention of blindness, we

must admit with shame that we are easily a century behind in our methods of caring for them. Only recently the Government of India appointed Major Sir Clutha Mackenzie, the well-known New Zealander who was blinded in 1915 during the first world war, to prepare plans for the care and education of the blind. In a letter to the "Outlook for the Blind" (June 1943), he states :—

"The Government of India has asked me to prepare a comprehensive plan for the development of civilian-blind work, which, you already know, is a tremendous problem in this vast country of four hundred million people; and blind variously estimated to number from one to four million. Some twenty-six schools, workshops, and homes already exist, but most of them are faced with difficulties so great and are on such slender incomes that they can make little headway. Altogether they take care of only twelve hundred of the several million. Begging is the time-honoured occupation of the vast majority. This, we must remember, was the case in the West until about 150 years ago, and it is only now that we are getting the blind beggar completely off our streets. The sacred works of Hindu and Muslim give the injunction—give to the poor, the maimed, and the sick, and you will find favour in God's sight. That established the age-old 'social security system' of India. Just as under our modern Social Security we find malingerers who deliberately make their living by exploiting the provisions for all they are worth, so also does a section in India—a beggar caste—which passes the profession of begging on from parent to child, and the children are sometimes maimed to make them more appealing. In Bombay I recently came across an eight-year-old boy whom a magistrate had just sent into a home for the blind. At the age of four he had been kidnapped from his respectable village parents by members of a robber caste, who had deliberately blinded him and taken him to Bombay as a decoy for begging purposes. He had been on the streets for four years until taken charge of by the police.

"The societies have been battling hard against things as they are, but they have lacked the guns. The field they have failed to capture is that of convincing the blind, their relatives, and the seeing public that education and vocational training have given, and can give, the trainee a better, or as good an earning power as that of the beggar. The blind child has an immediate income value to its parents; and as no dishonour is attached to sending their child to beg, they are unwilling to send it to a school for the blind unless they can see an ample money reward in the end.

"But there is a growing public opinion in India, inside and outside of government circles, that it is time something bigger and more positive should be done about it. The task is difficult and intricate; and they want to know just where and how to make this effort. That is the task the Government has

set me. At the moment we are assembling the experiences and the views of those who have laboured hard through many years of heart-breaking work.

"Of course, a very large amount of blindness in India is preventable or curable. Government health services, philanthropic societies, and missions are, and have been, at work in this field for many years, and many with devoted self-sacrifice, and the number whose sight they have saved must be tremendous. But the field is so great that considerable extension is needed. So much of the reduction in blindness depends upon better sanitation, more balanced diet, abandonment of much of Indian medicines and treatments, and simple precautions against common diseases. Changes in these directions are in progress; but, with ancient peoples deeply conservative at heart and not at all convinced that the West knows better than the Orient, abandoning age old religious beliefs and changing deep-rooted customs is a painfully slow business. There is much of frustration and disappointment. But the task has been begun, and it must go on steadily and with confidence in ultimate achievement."

For years private agencies have laboured with limited finances to meet this tremendous problem with little State aid. It is indeed encouraging that after all the Government of India has thought it fit to do something for these unfortunates. Let us hope that Sir Clutha Mackenzie's efforts will be crowned with success and that India will soon fall in line with the progressive countries of the world in caring for her sightless millions.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY IN THE UNITED STATES

THE release in England on November 20, 1942, of Sir William Beveridge's report on Social Insurance and Allied Services, followed by the submission to the U.S. Congress on March 11, 1943 of the report, "Security, Work and Relief Policies", prepared by the U. S. National Resources Planning Board, invites discussion of the background and present status of social security in the United States. Just what does "social security" mean to the U. S. citizen now? How much does he put into it? How much "security" does he actually get? What does it *not* cover? How does it work? To begin with, social security is not one programme, but ten, only one of which (old-age and survivors insurance) is wholly administered by the U.S. Social Security Board. The other programmes are operated jointly with state governments and other Federal agencies, but remain under supervision of the Board. Thus social security is an integral part of the governmental and economic structure of the United States.

The programmes are financed in various ways. In general it is the aim to make social security self-sufficient where possible; that is, supported by taxes earmarked for the purpose and paid by the eventual recipients of aid and by their employers. This goal can be attained only partially owing to the nature of some of the kinds of aid given and the fact that recipients are in some cases quite incapable of making any contribution. The mechanics of financing each part of the programme will be mentioned under each of the ten headings which follow. The ten social security programmes are :—

*I. Old-age and Survivors Insurance.*—This is the only programme entirely administered by the Federal Government. It provides monthly payments for retired employees insured under the system and for dependents and survivors of these employees. The amounts received monthly are based on wages received by the insured workers during their period of employment in industry and commerce. Benefits generally begin at age 65, and continue for life, providing the worker has earned at least 50 dollars per quarter (200 dollars per year) for ten years, except that workers who reach the age of 65 before the plan has been in effect for ten years (that is, until December 31, 1946) are covered. Additional benefits are allowed retired worker for wives if they are also over 65, and for children under 16, or children under 18 who are still in school. This is a somewhat simplified picture of the way the system works; there are certain other considerations involved. For instance, the amount of payment varies with the average monthly earnings of the insured and with the length of time he has been working under the system. The minimum allowance is 10 dollars per month, and the maximum, including supplementary benefits for dependents, is 85 dollars per month.

In the case of an insured worker's death, his widow receives approximately three-fourths as much per month as her husband would normally have received during his lifetime. Surviving children are also entitled to collect benefits, and if there are no survivors, a lump-sum payment is made to certain relatives or other persons authorised to receive it. Administration of old-age and survivors insurance necessitates maintenance of a continuous wage record under a separate account number for every insured worker. There are now more than 6,00,00,000 of persons in the United States insured under this system. Benefits are financed by equal taxes collected from the employer and from the employee. The rates are now 1 percent of wages from each party, but the rate is to be increased gradually until it reaches 3 percent from each party in 1949.

At present the following types of employment are expected, and workers in these fields are *not* insured under social security :—

1. Agricultural labour

2. Domestic servants
3. Casual labour not in the course of the employer's trade or business
4. Service on foreign vessels and certain small fishing vessels
5. Employment by religious, charitable, educational and scientific organisations not operated for profit
6. Self-employment and independent contractors
7. Service for a foreign government
8. Newspaper boys under 18

Two other types of employment are not insured under social security but are covered under separate plans operating in a somewhat similar fashion. These are :—

1. Employees of federal, state and local governments and certain of their instrumentalities. (Federal employees have their own retirement plan and most state and local employees are covered under plans established by the governmental agencies which employ them).
2. Railroad employees. (These are insured under the programme of the Railroad Retirement Board).

II. *Employment Security*.—The Employment Security programme formerly combined two functions : a system of payment to unemployed workers, and an employment service to help them find new jobs. The latter function, performed by the United States Employment Services has recently been transferred to the War Manpower Commission. The federal government does not pay unemployment benefits directly, but assists the states to finance and operate their own unemployment compensation systems. Every state now has such a system; the details vary with local needs.

The Social Security Act provides for federal co-operation which takes two forms; grants to the states to cover the cost of administering state laws; and credit against the federal unemployment tax allowed employers for their contributions to state unemployment funds. The federal unemployment tax is a 3 per cent excise tax levied on the payrolls of employers with eight or more employees, except that certain classes of employees, including agricultural workers, domestic servants, seamen, insurance salesmen and some others, are not included. Employers subject to the federal unemployment tax are allowed credit up to 90 percent of the amount of the tax for their contributions to state unemployment funds. More than 40,000,000 workers in all 48 U. S. states now have wage credits which will provide them with funds in case of loss of jobs.

III. *Old-age Assistance*.—This programme differs from the Old-age and Survivors Insurance (see above) in that it is not based on the recipient's

employment record, but on his need. This is determined by investigation by state agencies. Old-age assistance protects aged persons whose employment record for one reason or another does not entitle them to the regular insurance plan. It is a federal-state joint programme based upon state laws existing in every state, the District of Columbia, Alaska and Hawaii. The federal government contributes one-half the payment up to a total of 40 dollars per month. Payment is made only to old persons without other resources or with inadequate resources. The average monthly benefit is about 23 dollars. In 1942 slightly more than 2,000,000 old persons received this type of assistance.

IV. *Aid to the Blind*.—Forty-three of the U. S. states have adopted plans for aid to the needy blind which comply with the terms of the Social Security Act and may thus receive federal assistance. The federal government contributes one-half the benefits up to 40 dollars per month and also contributes about one-half the cost of administering the state plan. No blind person is eligible if he is receiving old-age assistance. Monthly payments average about 25 dollars.

V. *Aid to Dependent Children*.—The federal government grants one-half the assistance payments up to 18 dollars for the first dependent child and up to 12 dollars for any additional child, under approved laws which exist in 46 states. As in the case of old-age assistance and aid to the blind, these are state programmes aided by the federal government, which stipulates minimum conditions under which the aid will be given. This aid is strictly for subsistence of children determined by state investigation to be in need and living at home or with relatives or guardians. The average payment is about 36 dollars per month per family.

VI. *Maternal and Child-health Services*.—Grants to the states for maternal and child-health services are for the promotion of the health of mothers and children, especially in rural areas and in areas suffering from economic distress. Under this programme, which derives funds under the Social Security Act but is administered by the states and by the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labour, the states operate pre-natal clinics, dental programmes, child health conferences, public-health nursing services and other related programmes.

VII. *Services for Crippled Children*.—All 48 states now have programmes of aid for crippled children. Under the Social Security Act an annual federal appropriation is authorised to enable the states to extend and improve these programmes, which vary somewhat from state to state but usually include facilities for diagnosis, medical and surgical care and after-care. These services are available to families unable to afford the expensive care commonly necessary to correct or improve crippling conditions.

VIII. *Child Welfare Services*.—Welfare services for the protection and care of homeless, dependent and neglected children and children in danger of becoming delinquent are jointly provided by state agencies and the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labour, partly with funds provided under the Social Security Act. The programme operates mostly in rural areas and areas of special need.

IX. *Public Health Services*.—Federal funds authorised under the Social Security Act are made available for the establishment and maintenance of adequate state and local public health services, the federal contribution to be matched by the state contribution. Allotments to the states are made by the Surgeon-General of the U. S. Public Health Service on the basis of population, financial needs and special health problems which may exist, and are used in the expansion of state health services and in the training of personnel.

X. *Vocational Rehabilitation*.—Funds for extending and strengthening programmes of vocational rehabilitation of the physically disabled, so that handicapped persons may be trained and placed on a self-supporting basis, are made available under the Social Security Act. The programmes are administered through state agencies by the U. S. Office of Education.

\* \* \*

Old-age and Survivors Insurance involves keeping records throughout the working life of each insured person; and because many people move from state to state during the course of their employment, changing employers and residences, state operation of such a programme would be impracticable. In all other parts of the programme, state machinery was already in existence in some or all states, and it was of course economical to make use of it, but prior to enactment of the Social Security Act, there was no programme comparable to Old-age and Survivor's Insurance, so new machinery had to be set up.

The social security programme in the United States has developed rapidly since the passage of the original Act in 1935. It is still developing and expanding, and will continue to do so. The recent report of the National Resources Planning Board suggests the possible direction of new improvements with special attention to adaptations of the programme made necessary by the war and by post-war demobilization problems. But it should be remembered that before the war began, the United States already had a functioning and rapidly developing system of welfare and security services set up under the Social Security Act of 1935.—USOWI.

LABOUR RESEARCH IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES \*

THE following is a list of subjects of labour interest on which research is being conducted in certain Universities and Colleges in India :—

*University of Calcutta.*—(i) The Authoritarian Element in the Standard of Living. (ii) A Critical Study of Index Numbers now in current use in India. (iii) Sickness Insurance.

*Morris College, Nagpur.*—(i) Industrial Labour in Central Provinces and Berar.

*Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Byculla, Bombay.*—(i) A Socio-Economic Survey of 150 Working Class Families in the Bangalore Binny Mills. (ii) Life and Labour of 100 Women Textile Workers of the Sassoon Mills in Bombay. (iii) A Socio-Economic Study of Shop Assistants in the Cloth Markets of Bombay. (iv) Effects of Unemployment on 100 Unemployed Persons. (v) A Study of Welfare Schemes for the Textile Workers in the Empress Mills in Nagpur. (vi) A Socio-Economic Survey of 100 Shoe-makers in Private Shops. (vii) A Study of an Employment Scheme for Poor Parsis.

*University of Madras.*—(i) Conciliation and Arbitration in Labour Disputes with special reference to Madras.

TRAINING OF LABOUR OFFICERS †

*Calcutta University's Latest Move*

THE Appointments Board of the Calcutta University has recently inaugurated in co-operation with the Indian Jute Mills Association, a special course of social work for giving suitable training to Labour Welfare Officers engaged in jute mills. In framing the scheme the University had in view the following objects :—(1) The welfare requirements of the working classes. (2) The Labour Officer as the representative of the employer entrusted with the task of supervising welfare work. (3) The Labour Officer as a colleague of other officers of the concern for the improvement of the workmen's efficiency and general uplift.

In order to make the training course really useful, it is proposed to give both practical and theoretical instruction. Owing to difficulties of arranging for practical training, however, in its initial stages, it is proposed that the course should be open only to those who are at present engaged as Labour Officers or are likely to be so employed.

\* *Indian Labour Gazette*, November 1943.

† *The Indian Textile Journal*, August 19



## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### *Practical Work*

1st month—Jute mill industry to be studied sufficiently intensively to appreciate the broader technical aspects and common terms used.

2nd month—Coolie lines, residential bustees and labour to be constantly visited in order to gain an insight into their social and physical environment.

3rd month—Attend night offices and Labour Commissioner's office to hear the recording of grievances and their disposal as well as the clerical work involved in this line.

4th month—Return to the jute mills this time to study the worker in relation to the industry—both physical and mental.

5th month—Make a detailed study of social and welfare activities, sports, health, trade unions, etc. in the way of a factual survey, as it is desired to develop existing centres where possible.

6th-9th month—Conduct the hearing of cases, organise welfare and other activities, hold meetings, etc., and work on some definite constructive lines.

10th and 11th months—Visits to other industries.

The theoretical course of instruction consists of the following subjects :—(1) Social duty, (2) Applied economics, (3) Law, (4) Statistics, (5) Social and industrial psychology, (6) Practical training, and (7) Public health administration.

An influential committee consisting of representatives of the University, the Jute Mill Association, Government Department concerned and also a woman representative has been appointed to be in charge of this course.

Bombay, on the other hand, may be said to have stolen a march over the sister presidency. The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work has now for more than five years been fulfilling a vital need of industrial and social service organizations in India. It offers a two-year course of training in social work for graduates of Indian Universities. Its work is roughly divided into the following general heads :

Preprofessional: General courses: Family and Child Welfare: Juvenile and Adult Delinquency: Medical and psychiatric social work: Social research: field work. Under the heading of industrial relations are covered general economics, Indian industrial organization, the worker's place in industry, the work of the Labour Officer and social legislation. Like the graduates of the Department of Chemical Technology of the University of Bombay, the diploma holders of the Graduate School of Social Work are in great demand and are now occupying responsible positions as labour and welfare officers in the textile and other industries. The proposed scheme of the Calcutta

University is however, less ambitious, concerning itself as it does only with the training of labour officers for jute mills. The progress of the scheme will no doubt be watched with interest by the other centres.

### ALUMNI NEWS

A sum of Rs. 800/- was collected for Bengal Famine Relief by the Alumni Association. This money was sent to Bengal through the All-India Women's Council.

Mr. J. V. Bhawe has gone to Nagpur as Assistant Labour Officer, C. P. Government.

Miss K. B. Naik is now Superintendent of the Hindu Women's Rescue Home, Poona, her services having been lent by Government.

Friends of Mr. D. V. Kulkarni, Superintendent, Yeravda Industrial School, Poona, will be very grieved to hear of the sad demise of his wife on the 5th December 1943.

Mr. D. C. Nanda is in Ajmere organizing Labour Unions for railway employees.

Mr. Ladlinath Renu has recently returned to Bombay after a month's tour in the famine areas of Bengal. He went as a volunteer of the All-India Seva Samiti and, after studying the various relief organizations working in Calcutta, helped the All-India Seva Samiti to prepare a scheme on a scientific basis for relief work. He also rendered help to the Samiti's existing centres which distribute rice doles, medical aid, and cloth. According to him about one crore of people have died from the present famine in Bengal. The chief sufferers are agricultural labourers, fisher folk, and Chamars.

Mrs. Wazir Merchant, nee Rajendar Kaur Sidhu, whose husband is an Engineer on the G. I. P. Railway, now stationed in Bombay, was blessed with a son last September.

Mr. G. N. Harshe, Additional Assistant Inspector of Certified Schools, Bombay Province, Poona, has announced his engagement to Miss Agashe, G. A., a Sanskrit and Marathi scholar and daughter of a well-known doctor and social worker of Satara.

**WILL BE OUT SHORTLY**

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A Historical Survey of Beggar Relief in India.	

**BUREAU OF RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS**

**Tata Graduate School of Social Work**

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## BEDWETTING—ITS CAUSES AND TREATMENT

J. C. MARFATIA

Enuresis and its allied problems do not receive the attention they should from the parents and guardians. In many cases peculiar ideas seem to be associated with this malady of childhood which is more a symptom than a disease. In this article, the writer gives an exposition of the main problem on the basis of his experience in treating patients suffering from bedwetting, and makes a plea for a proper understanding of its nature and treatment.

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IT has long been recognised in medical practice that bedwetting is one of the obstinate diseases of children with which the medical practitioner is frequently faced, and that no amount of drugging with belladonna, or with ephedrine, produces the slightest change in the condition of the patient. In our country this failure of treating the disease by drugs has not been a sufficient stimulus to look for factors, other than the organic, responsible for the disease. It is not commonly realised that emotional factors could ever be the cause of enuresis. In spite of repeated failures, most medical practitioners persist in administering belladonna which has traditionally become the sheet anchor in the treatment of this disease. In course of time the child outgrows the habit, and the drug that was last tried at the time gets the credit which it least deserves.

It has been the writer's experience that some parents bring the child for quite a different complaint, and only whilst collecting a detailed history from them it is incidentally revealed that the child bedwets. Frequently when asked whether this particular habit of the child did not worry them, they smilingly reply, "My oldest two children did it and they have 'outgrown' the habit without any treatment. Similarly, this child will 'outgrow' it. I used to bedwet as a child, so did the other members of the family. Nothing ever was done to remedy it. It is in our family." They take it as a matter of course that the enuresis is hereditary, and do not care to institute treatment in the hope that the child will get over the habit as they themselves did. There are other parents to whom it is a source of much conflict and unhappiness, and causes much irritation and emotional upset in the household.

*Etiology.*—Bedwetting is a disturbance of the voluntary control of the urethral sphincter. It is the involuntary, and at least at the inception of the act, unconscious passage of urine by children more than 3 years of age. It can be considered normal till 3 years of age. It has been established that

"approximately 10% of all one-year-old children have acquired the dry habit; at 18 months about 30% have good bladder control; at 2 years from 65 to 80% have ceased to wet themselves; at 3 years the average child is expected to keep his clothes and bed entirely clean."

Authors disagree as to the sex incidence of enuresis. Kanner in his series of cases found 62% boys and 38% girl bedwetters. There are others who hold that the incidence is about equal in both the sexes (Douglas Thom). Thursfield says that there is preponderance in girls. In the writer's series of cases treated at the Child Guidance Clinic of the Sir Dorab Tata Graduate School of Social Work, out of a total of 25 bedwetters, 9 were boys and 16 were girls. Much will depend upon the agency which refers the cases. If it so happens that referring agencies are mainly girls' schools or schools only meant for boys, obviously it will affect the sex incidence.

There is also difference of opinion as regards the level of intelligence of the enuretics. Amongst mental defectives (I. Q. below 70), the percentage of bedwetters is very high. The following are Kanner's figures for his series of cases:—

Borderline Intelligence (I. Q. between 70-80)	... 40%
Average Intelligence (I. Q. between 90-110)	... 30%
Morons (I. Q. between 50-70)	... 15%
Idiocy and Imbecility (I. Q. below 50)	... 8%
Superior Intelligence (I. Q. above 110)	... 7%

In the writer's series of cases the percentage for the different grades corresponds more or less to that of Kanner's series. The incidence of borderline and average intelligence cases is about equal and that of superior intelligence indicates a low percentage. These remarks refer to cases actually treated at the Child Guidance Clinic, and not to those selected from the general population. It must also be noted that only those who are not mental defectives are admitted to the Clinic.

The personality traits of enuretics make an interesting study. To quote Kanner again—

(1) Timid, shy, bashful, seclusive, unusually quiet	... 8%
(2) Hypersensitive, self-conscious and finical	... 9%
(3) Over-conscientious, serious minded	... 3%
(4) Restless, hyperactive, fidgety, easily excited	... 24%
(5) Whining, complaining, moody, grouchy, irritable	... 39%
(6) Aggressive, fighting, mischievous, cruel	... 8%
(7) Disobedient, impudent, spiteful and stubborn	... 14%
(8) Listless, apathetic and indifferent	... 4%

The commonest personality traits of the enuretic treated in the Clinic

are :—Restlessness, hyperactiveness, irritableness, sensitiveness, stubbornness and aggressiveness. Enuretics, belonging to the mentally deficient group, are usually listless, apathetic and indifferent.

*Organic Causes.*—There are certain organic factors which may be responsible for enuresis. Every enuretic should be given a thorough physical examination and before embarking upon any psychological treatment, it is necessary to assiduously search for any organic factors which may be responsible for bedwetting. The following organic disorders are considered as causes of enuresis :—Phimosis, narrow-meatus, adherent prepuce, balanitis, vulvitis, eczema and genital pruritis, threadworms, anatomical anomalies like spina bifida, rudimentary non-union of sacrum and other anomalies in the lower section of the spinal column; cystitis, pyelitis, nephritis, bacteriuria. Other physiological factors are diet rich in salts and fluids, highly acid urine etc. Adenoids and tonsils have also been held responsible, on the assumption that they interfere with proper respiration, and therefore lead to an overabundance of CO<sub>2</sub> in the blood; this in turn is said to result in abnormal depth of the sleep which makes the child unmindful of the urge to void. General debility has been ascribed as one of etiological factors.

*Socio-Psychological Factors.*—The term “socio-psychological” is used to express the interdependence and interaction of emotional, social and economic factors. Very often it is found that not one single factor, either emotional, social or economic, as such, causes bedwetting, but it is the combination and interaction of all these factors which bring about the symptom. It should be noted that bedwetting is a symptom and not a disease entity. It is a symptom of maladjustment. There is something wrong with the make-up of the child’s personality. It is important to bear this in mind since the aim is not to remove the symptom only but to treat the personality as a whole.

Usually the mothers do very little to train their children in toilet habits believing that the passage of time and the community pressure would do the needful. This attitude on their part may be due to the fact that they derive a certain amount of pleasure by prolonging the period of infancy of their children beyond the normal limits. This situation not infrequently finds expression in overindulgence and oversolicitude so often manifested by mothers towards their children which they try to excuse on the ground that the child is too small or too delicate to receive a different treatment and training. As a result, the child is seldom given an opportunity to grow up; he is never taught to dress himself, feed himself or allowed to go alone to join his playmates. Apart from this, there is *the child’s unconscious desire to remain an irresponsible infant.*

This attitude of indifference on the part of mothers is due, in some

cases, to wrong notions of heredity and in others, to some doctor's remark that bedwetting is due to weak kidneys. Believing it, they make no effort to start bladder training. Sometimes it may be due to *lack of opportunity for adequate training of urinary habits*. For instance, the child may have to travel long, dark passages to empty his bladder, or may be expected to use a vessel in the bedroom and be inhibited because he feels some sense of shame in this procedure. In some households, several children share the same bed, with utter disregard of age or sex, the reason in most cases being largely economic. When there are more than one bedwetters the idea sometimes is that the culprits ought to stand the wetness and odour of the other's urine as well as of their own.

*Further, serious maladjustment, either emotional or social*, of one or both the parents, and the consequent emotional insecurity experienced by the child is not an infrequent cause of disturbance in the child's personality. Very often it is an unconscious *attention seeking mechanism*. Every child likes to be the centre of interest, loves emotional scenes and enjoys being the object of attention. When the child feels *unloved and rejected*, as shown by abnormal parental attitudes like overstrictness, punishment, constant nagging and unnecessary comparisons with other children, he naturally develops a feeling of hate towards the parent who rejects him. Towards such a parent he finds it difficult to express his *aggression* and his psycho-sexual development is hindered. "He clings, therefore, to infantile methods of obtaining pleasure and at the same time, through wetting, *expresses his antagonism and resentment*. If the parents have completely rejected the child, he is unable to get gratification from them to compensate him for relinquishing the physical pleasure of wetting. As they do not love him, he *retaliates* by hating them, and therefore has no desire to imitate them by being clean. Such children will develop bladder control late in childhood but will show clearer and clearer signs of a delinquent personality."

There are other types of cases in which enuresis recurs after a dry period. In this type of enuresis the child either ceases bedwetting before the age of 3 years, that is, his toilet training is successful, or he continues bedwetting after that age for a certain period and then stops bedwetting, and after some months or even years of dry period there is recurrence of it. In most of such cases it will be found that *the advent of a new baby* in the family has precipitated enuresis. The child who till now was the focus of attention, and was the recipient of undivided love of his parents, suddenly feels deprived of these and regresses to infantile ways of gaining sympathy and attention. Sometimes the *immediate fear situation* causes this temporary return to infantile conditions. A sudden fear experience of deprivation, *separation from*

*the mother*, removal to a strange home, or sending the child to school for the first time—all these are factors which may be responsible for his regression and bedwetting. This is especially so in institutions where the bedwetters, who did not bedwet at home, but start the habit only after coming to the institution. In some cases intense social disapproval and fear of not being able to control himself is sufficient to prevent the control. Very often enuresis is the result of some deep-seated anxiety or fear. In such cases the cause of the anxiety or the fear must be sought for and treated.

*Methods of Treatment.*—Any organic cause, if present, must of course, be diagnosed and treated. Medical treatment need not be described here as it is fully discussed in text books of medicine. In all cases a thorough physical examination is essential, and more so in cases where the child believes that the defect is due to some physical cause. To illustrate: here is the case of a boy, 13 years old, who firmly believed that his bedwetting was due to "weakness" and this belief was strengthened by his doctor's opinion. Similar was his mother's idea; further, she maintained that it was hereditary as her other children also bedwetted. A thorough and impressive physical examination was made and the boy was assured that it was not due to any weakness. He was a healthy well-developed boy. His and his mother's faulty notions about heredity were corrected. In about a week's time his bedwetting was less frequent. While there was hardly a "dry" night before the assurance was given, there were, after it, one or two "dry" nights during the week following. Subsequently the boy improved very much, the frequency being about once in a month. Treatment is still being carried on.

After having eliminated any possibility of an organic cause, one proceeds with the investigations of socio-psychological factors. The importance of a detailed and chronological collection of history cannot be over-estimated. It gives many clues to start with. In individual cases different factors may be at work. The treatment consists in the (a) removal of damaging environmental factors and (b) re-education of the child by psycho-therapeutic procedure. In the first case, most often the parent has to be dealt with, whilst in the latter the child himself.

*Environmental Factors.*—To begin with, parents' erroneous beliefs with regard to a weak bladder or kidney or "nerves" or "heredity" are corrected. Punishments, scolding, bribing and shaming, for example, making the child stand in a corner facing the wall during meal time, should be discouraged. Faulty attitudes like unnecessary comparisons with other siblings or children, rejection, oversolicitude or "babying" have to be modified if not completely got rid off. This enlightenment on correct attitudes is known as "attitude therapy". In cases where bedwetting has followed the advent of a new baby



in the family, the parents must take special care to show equal love and affection so that the child does not feel suddenly deprived of the mother's attention. It is a good practice to prepare the child beforehand and to teach him to be less selfish and share his things with the new comer. The social worker is expected to help the parents in improving cleanliness and the other aspects of the child's surroundings, and to establish regular habits in him. In those cases where bedwetting has been persistent since birth and no attempt has been made to train the child in toilet habits, it is best to re-educate and train him by establishing a regime such as the one given below :—

The regime set up should, as far as possible, eliminate excessive mental strain. Restriction of fluids, within certain limits, proves beneficial. Fluids, in any form, should not be allowed after 8 p.m. The child usually feels no hardship and his task is facilitated by prescribing a plain, simple, supper free from seasonings so that thirst is not increased.

As regards the training directed to the night, it is best carried out as follows :—At the beginning of the treatment the child should be awakened just before it falls soundly asleep. Later, the best time is found out in the individual case. This is done by the parent who makes trips of inspection to find out at what time the wetting occurs. When the critical hour—1/2 hour before wetting time—has been determined, the child should be thoroughly awakened on his visit to the bathroom. "Awakened" means to rouse the child completely so that he is wide awake which is not so easy as it sounds. The child must get up, and should not be allowed to go back to his bed until he has emptied his bladder. To wake him up one has to talk to him and sometimes it is usual to wipe his face with a wet towel. A careful record should be maintained of his failures and successes. Successes should be encouraged by love and approbation and failures ignored. Let him realise that he has achieved more success than you expected of him. Then he starts the second week with real enthusiasm and not as one who failed in his efforts.

A few words about the toilet training itself. Twelve to fifteen months is the usual age to begin such discipline. Severe punishment should never be inflicted and fear aroused in securing the proper use of the toilet. The method consists of making a business of frequency the child and keeping him dry by taking him frequently to the toilet. The mother, or the nurse, should find out the frequency of urination, and then take the child often enough so that he is kept dry most of the time.

When proper toilet facilities are not available, suitable arrangements should be made. They should be as convenient and non-frightening as possible. If long, dark, passages have to be traversed, one of the parents (preferably of the same sex) should accompany the child. In institutions

also very often such difficulties are experienced and it is better to have the 'hamal' on night duty accompany the child under such circumstances.

As far as possible proper sleeping arrangements should be provided. The child should be made to sleep on a separate bed. A ten-year old boy was referred to the Clinic for bedwetting. On enquiry it was found that the boy was sleeping with the mother in the same bed. As a first step the mother was instructed to sleep separately from the boy. Bedwetting stopped when the change was made. After six months (during which period there was no relapse) the boy again slept with the mother in the same bed, with the result that bedwetting recurred. The same advice was given again and bedwetting stopped completely.

*Psychotherapeutic Procedure.*—The first and the few subsequent interviews with the child have to be as informal as possible. It should be made perfectly clear to him that the relationship between the psychiatrist and himself is not that of a physician and his patient, formal and matter-of-fact, but it is a relationship between him and an adult who tries to understand the difficulties from the child's point of view. Physical examination may be postponed to a later date especially if the child resents it, and if it is likely to antagonize him against the physician, since wholehearted co-operation is essential in this method of treatment. The first few interviews are spent in listening patiently and sympathetically to the child's story. After thus gaining his confidence, the next step is to encourage him in making an effort to overcome the habit. Any feeling of utter hopelessness and despondency should be relieved by presenting the case in such a way as would make him feel that his problem is one which can be overcome and that he is bigger than his habit. He should be reassured that bedwetting is not a crime and be relieved of his sense of guilt or shame. Often it has been found useful to ask him what he thinks are the causes of his bedwetting. In most cases the reply may be in the negative. But if he has any faulty notion about the causation of bedwetting, he should be corrected.

• With younger children or those who are very reticent, their confidence can be gained through the medium of play. The child's play is observed either by the psychiatrist or the play-room worker who, at the end of the session, notes down his observations which are then communicated to the psychiatrist. The child indulges in various types of games of his choice, and during the play works out his own emotions, and also expresses his inner cravings, conflicts and phantasies unconsciously. It is significant that a bedwetter very often chooses to play with water. A separate room should be provided for children who indulge in this type of play. One popular game with water is to connect one end of a rubber-tube to a tap, work the tap and

direct the stream of water coming out at the other end on to tin mugs placed in a row, and then knock them off one by one. Another game consists in working the tap of a water-sink, collecting the water upto a certain level by preventing it from flowing out by means of a cork, and then trying to sink a rubber or a celluloid doll. When asked whom of the siblings this doll represents, the child very often replies with a grin "my brother", or "my sister", as the case may be. There can be no doubt that much unconscious aggression against the object of hate is displayed and worked out during this sort of play. Some children mix water and sand, and play with the resultant mixture. They enjoy dirtying their whole body and clothes with the wet sand. As this play is observed uncritically and without hindrance, the child thinks that after all it is not so bad or it is not a crime to be "dirty". Gradually, "dirtying" by bedwetting disappears since another outlet is found for his unconscious emotional need.

In many cases the child improves without any interpretations being given to his play which suggests that "it is the feeling of security that the child gets from expressing thoughts and impulses, of which he is otherwise afraid, in the presence of non-critical and kindly adult, that is the important medium of therapy". As Rogerson aptly puts it, "Again and again one finds evidence that it is not the interpretation of a difficulty that causes it to vanish—it is the expression of it, and the reception of it without hostile criticism."

For the treatment of chronic bedwetters there is a procedure, called the star-chart method, which is sometimes useful. Star-chart is a calendar on which the child fixes an adhesive gold star in celebration of every dry night. Even one star won in a week by a chronic bedwetter is enough to make him realise that "dry" night is possible and gives him an impetus to achieve further "dry" nights. Instead of a star-chart calendar, the child may be asked to keep a small notebook in which he writes the days of the week together with the date. If a dry night is passed, a positive sign is made against that particular day of the week. If unsuccessful a cross (X) is put against that day. The joy and the enthusiasm that are expressed at finding more positive signs than the crosses are unmistakable. The child is asked to put the signs himself. By so doing we create in him confidence and make him feel that he is trusted. It is good, however, for the mother to check up occasionally, without the child knowing it, and see if he is putting the signs honestly.

With other children, individual psycho-therapy of the interpretative type is applied. The unconscious emotional conflicts are brought to the surface and the motives behind the symptom interpreted. Whether psychological

of the interpretative type will have to be superficial or deep will depend upon the nature of the case. If enuresis is the result of anxiety, then it is necessary to search for its cause first and then treat it.

Diurnal bedwetting is ordinarily found in children over 3 years of age, who are busy, active and excitable. Such youngsters are usually so engrossed in their play activities that they are hardly aware of the calls of nature. In such cases something must be done to train them to attend to their physical demands. "During the day the intervals between urination are gradually lengthened. Frequently one attains, within a short time, intervals of 3-4 hours, after having started with intervals of half an hour only. This method is particularly useful in dealing with enuresis diurnal and frequency of micturition, but it is also beneficial in nocturnal enuresis."

#### ILLUSTRATIVE CASES

*Case 1.*—A tall and attractive girl of 14 years was brought to the Clinic for bedwetting; it was also reported that she suffered pain in the stomach and that she was in the habit of beating the mother which made the latter feel anxious about the daughter.

The girl acquired bladder control at the age of 2 to 2½ years, but at the age of 4 years she started bedwetting, the frequency being about once in two months; this continued till the age of 6 years, after which it became worse occurring from one to three times every night. This went on till she was 12½ years old. Then she stopped bedwetting for a month or so and started it again with the same frequency. This was the situation at the time she was referred to the Clinic.

With regard to the pain in the abdomen she stated that it was of a gripping nature as if someone was twisting a rope inside. It was not a referred pain, had no relation to food or menstrual periods and was not localised. Pain usually came on between 11-30 a.m. and 12-30 p.m. when she was unoccupied but not when she was busily occupied. The first time she remembered having pain was after a quarrel with her mother. In saying that the daughter was uncontrollable the mother meant that she was disobedient, and answered back if scolded, and that she was very irritable and occasionally hit the mother back if the latter punished her. The patient also hit her younger sister on the slightest provocation.

In this case the significant feature was the extreme rejection of the child by the mother who made no secret of the fact that she was not fond of the child, and that she would like to get rid of her especially because of her bedwetting and bad temper. She showed great disgust at the child's bedwetting which she tried to correct by severe beating, and abused her in words

which meant that her death would give her (the mother) much relief. The girl petted and embraced the mother only to meet with the response that she (the daughter) was too grown up for such demonstration. The girl's freedom was much curtailed. She was not allowed to go out as the mother was suspicious about the girl's activities, i.e., talking to boys and actors and actresses staying in the neighbourhood. She wanted the girl to get married just to get rid of her, and showed extreme willingness to send her to a boarding school. The girl's maternal grandmother is an invalid and she also openly declared her dislike of the girl. The mother frequently told the girl that she would be the cause of the grandmother's death if the latter happened to die. The mother showed not only great affection for the girl's younger sister and the uncle but also showed extremely over-protective attitude towards them. The uncle, the younger brother of the mother on whom she is absolutely dependant, is a neurotic person and is about 25 years of age. The father of the girl showed very little interest in his children, being fully occupied with his work. The only interest he showed occasionally was in beating the patient when her mother told tales about her.

The patient was extremely jealous of her younger sister to whom the mother showed special favour as she is a weakling and keeps bad health. The patient was every fond of dancing and music but she was never encouraged by her mother to indulge in these activities fearing that she might become an actress and take to the cinema profession. Naturally she felt that she would become a useless girl as she constantly stayed with ignorant and unintelligent people (meaning her own people at home). The family set no high ideals for her to follow. She was tired of the unharmonious relations between the family members and very much detested grandmother's interference in her affairs. She got on well with other people outside her home.

From the above account it is evident that the child lacked the most fundamental emotional need—the need for security in the form of parental love. She was a completely rejected child who found nothing in the home to inspire her or satisfy her wish for response. Her freedom, which is never so much wanted as at the time of puberty, was very much curtailed. Her interests in dancing and music were completely suppressed. Hence, her rebellious attitude is not difficult to understand.

*Treatment.*—In the first place, a thorough physical examination was made to diagnose the cause for her pain in the abdomen but no organic disorder nor anything abnormal could be detected. The patient was told that her illness was not due to any serious organic disorder but that it had emotional origin. All the same, a mixture was prescribed by way of a placebo as she was not satisfied with this explanation of her trouble. Then regular

psychotherapy was instituted to correct the mother's faulty attitude and to carry on individual work with the child herself. Her I. Q. (Intelligence Quotient) was found to be 91 by Binet-Simon Tests and 107 by Performance Tests.

*Work with the Child Herself.*—The Psychotherapeutic method adopted in this case was of the interpretative type. The relation between emotions and bodily symptoms was explained. It was pointed out to her that her pain in the abdomen was of psychic origin as was shown by the definite times at which it occurred such as the first time when she felt pain after a quarrel with her mother. Pain was of gripping nature—as if some one was twisting a rope inside. An interpretation of this was given by way of explaining to her the relation between the nature of pain and her aggression towards her mother. Her bedwetting was also tackled on the same lines interpreting her troubles at appropriate times during the talks. Aggression against the mother expressed itself unconsciously by her bedwetting which was a method adopted by her to retaliate. Her enuresis was an infantile way (regression) of procuring her mother's attention and sympathy as was shown by the fact that she did not bedwet when she slept with her mother. She was advised to meet her difficulties in a healthy and dignified way. The jealousy situation between herself and her sister and uncle was also explained.

Attitude therapy in the case of the mother was difficult and arduous. She had her own emotional difficulties which were frankly discussed with the physician. She was given some insight into her own behaviour towards her daughter. The social worker, who visited her home, had not only talks with the mother but also lengthy discussions with the grandmother. The uncle was advised to attend the J. J. Hospital for psychiatric treatment. There was considerable change for the good in the attitude of both the mother and the grandmother towards the child. She was also helped to find good friends, and recreational facilities were provided by the skilful management of the chief playroom worker. Later on the child was sent to a boarding school.

*Progress of the Case and Results.*—Within the first few visits to the Clinic pain disappeared completely. Bedwetting also stopped but there were occasional mild relapses during which she bedwetted only for a day or so and only once in the night. Later inquiries at the boarding school showed that bedwetting had completely stopped and that she had been free from it for the last one year. Her irritability had considerably diminished, her general uncontrollable nature had changed; and her mother has been very much relieved of her anxiety about her daughter who is still in the boarding school where she is making satisfactory progress.

*Case 2.*—A small boy of 2 years and 9 months was referred to the Clinic

for bedwetting, soiling of clothes, mischief and temper tantrums. He was accompanied by his mother, a thin, pale, nervous person with a very anxious look. She was very much worried about the child because he was extremely jealous of his younger sister whom he beat frequently. His bedwetting and soiling upset her very much because she thought every normal child should acquire complete bladder and bowel control by the age of six months. Soiling mostly occurred in the nursery school and occasionally at home. When she found that her child was wetting his bed and soiling his clothes, she tried to correct his habits by beating and scolding him. The mother had very queer notions about cleanliness. She herself dressed well and looked neat and tidy. The father always quoted his own example to the child saying that he, unlike him (patient), was never a naughty boy and never bedwetted or soiled himself after the age of six months.

As regards treatment it may be stated that only attitude therapy in the case of the mother, and play therapy in that of the boy were carried out. No direct work with the child was done. Attitude therapy consisted in correcting her faulty notions about upbringing of children and relieving her of her anxiety about the boy which was unconsciously communicated to him. She was persuaded not to beat or scold him for his "uncleanly" habits as, in spite of her having recourse to that method, the child did not improve. It was also impressed on her that bedwetting upto the age of 3 years could be regarded as a 'normal occurrence in children. The child was attending a nursery school where he spent more than five hours which was rather too much for a child just 3 years old. She was persuaded to keep him there for a shorter time, say, 3 to 4 hours.

Another thing that worried the mother was the child's temper tantrums. During these tantrums the child cried loudly, rolled on the ground kicking his feet in the air. The mother used to deal with these by punishment either in the form of beatings or keeping the child hungry; sometimes she would yield to the child's demands. Advice was therefore given as to how to deal with his temper outbursts by pointing out to the mothers that she herself should not be upset and show temper but just ignore the outburst; if she could not tolerate the noise or sight of it, she could go away to another room, and later come and reassure the child, from time to time, without giving in to him but always explaining the reason why his demand was considered unreasonable.

His habit of beating his younger sister on the slightest provocation was another problem which the mother found difficult to tackle. The mechanism of sibling rivalry was explained to her. She was advised that her attitude to the patient should be such as not to make him, who was the centre

of attention and interest of the parents till the arrival of the younger baby, feel neglected and less loved; such a situation is likely to occur in view of the fact that a new born baby, small and dependent as he is, naturally demands more time and attention from the mother who expects the older child to be able to look after himself. She was also instructed to tell her husband not to remark that he was naughty and not to nag him for his bedwetting.

In the Clinic, his activities consisted mostly in playing on the sand-tray where he played with sand and water, and smeared his body with them while playing. He always seemed to enjoy playing with water and "dirtying" himself and his clothes with sand and water.

*Progress of the Case and Results.*—The mother co-operated well and carried out all the instructions and advice given in the Clinic. Soiling completely ceased. Bedwetting considerably improved. Before his referral he used to bedwet daily but since coming to the Clinic it diminished to once or twice in a month. Temper tantrums disappeared completely. Beating the younger sister persisted but it was very much less than before. Unfortunately the patient could not continue attending the Clinic because of unavoidable circumstances. Further inquiries, however, show that his improvement has been maintained but his bedwetting has not completely disappeared.

The improvement in this case may be ascribed to:—(1) Perfect co-operation of the mother, who always showed great keenness to learn the modern methods of child training, and took full advantage of the attitude therapy given to her, and her being able to change her own attitude. (2) Playing on the sand-tray. In this instance no interpretations of his play were given to the patient. This suggests that "it was the feeling of security that the child felt from expressing thoughts and impulses (dirtying himself with sand and water), of which he was otherwise afraid, in the presence of non-critical and kindly adult" (the playroom worker), which improved the child very much. The child was able to work out his emotions and express his inner cravings and phantasies unconsciously during play.

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## HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE JUVENILE COURT

J. P. GUPTA

The treatment of the young offender, which was formally influenced by the then prevailing theories of adult criminology, has now changed radically owing to the growth of our knowledge of child nature and of the social causes of delinquency. As a result the Juvenile Court has come into being. In this article Mr. Gupta traces the history of the Juvenile Court Movement and explains its fundamentals, a clear understanding of which is essential for the successful operation of the Court.

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IN England the evolution of the Juvenile Court can be traced back to over a thousand years, to the times of King Athelstan who in the tenth century enacted that "men should slay none younger than a fifteen winters' man", and provided that "if his kindred will not take him, nor be surety for him, then swear he as the Bishop shall teach him, that he will shun all evil, and let him be in bondage for his price; and if after that he steals let men slay or hang him, as they did to his elders." But in India we find that even so late as 1836 our Prison Reforms Committees appointed by the Government of India was opposed to all reforming influences and rejected the idea of separation of the juveniles from the adults. Later, jail reforms committees were appointed in 1864, 1877 and 1883, but they too did not mention a single word regarding the separation or reformatory treatment of juvenile or young offenders.

The earliest legislative attempt to deal with destitute and delinquent children in India was made by the Government of India in 1850 by passing an All India Act known as Act XIX of 1858. By this Act a differentiation between a child and an adult offender was for the first time made, as the Act authorised the magistrate committing children between the ages of 10 and 18 for vagrancy or commission of any petty offence to bind them as apprentices. Any magistrate, or justice of peace, or director of a charity could act as the guardian of the offending child. The main purpose of this Act was to divert the criminal tendencies of children towards some trade or craft in order to enable them to earn a living.

In 1857 the Government of Bombay recognised the David Sassoon Industrial and Reformatory School (founded in 1843) for the reformation of youthful offenders, and the young offenders were committed to its charge under section 399 of the Criminal Procedure Code. The section provides: "When any person under the age of fifteen years is sentenced by any criminal court to imprisonment for any offence, the court may direct that such person, instead of being imprisoned in a criminal jail, shall be confined, in any refor-

matory established by the Local Government as a fit place for confinement, in which there are means of suitable discipline and of training in some branch of useful industry, or which is kept by a person willing to obey such rules as the Local Government prescribes with regard to the discipline and training of persons confined therein."

The Central Government noting the successful working of the David Sassoon Industrial and Reformatory School in Bombay passed the Reformatory Schools Act in 1870 for the whole country, which was really the next step forward regarding the treatment of delinquent children. The object of the Act was to establish institutions for males to serve as reformatory and industrial schools on the lines of similar institutions in England. Consequently, government institutions in the form of reformatory schools were set up by some of the Provincial Governments, and a few private institutions, which were willing to abide by the conditions laid down by the Government, were also recognised. In these schools boys are separated at night, and proper arrangements for their food, clothing and sanitation exist. The inmates are trained in one or the other craft or industry in order to enable them to earn a livelihood on being released.

According to this Act the following three kinds of juveniles were committed to the reformatory schools :—1. Boys under 14 years of age convicted of offences punishable with transportation or imprisonment but not sentenced; 2. Boys under 14 years of age with no visible means of subsistence and associating with thieves and bad characters; 3. Boys under 12 years of age sentenced to imprisonment. Owing to this definite and separate enactment for treating juvenile offenders, section 399 of the Criminal Procedure Code was repealed with reference to Bombay and other provinces where reformatory schools had been started. Still the unrepealed sections left it to the discretion of the magistrate in the matter of sending a boy under 15 or 16 years to prison; but the officer of the prison was given the authority to place a child whom he thought fit before the magistrate for being transferred to a reformatory for a period ranging between 2 and 7 years. The two main shortcomings of the Act were :—1. It was restricted to males only; 2. A youthful offender could be committed to a reformatory of the province in which he was convicted and punished and so in the provinces where there were no reformatories the Act could not come into operation.

The Prison Conference held in 1892 recommended the amendment of this Act. The Government of India also invited suggestions in this respect from the Provincial Governments. Then in 1897 the Act was modified raising the age limit to 16 years in Bombay Presidency and 15 years elsewhere, and making provision for the boys to be detained from 2 to 7 years upto a

maximum age limit of 18 years, and also for their release on licence after the age of 14 years. The Inspector General of Prisons was authorised to inspect reformatory schools. Though the Act did not provide for the opening of such schools for girls owing to the opposition to this idea from the Hindus and the Muslims, yet it was provided therein that young girl offenders could be released on their parent or guardian standing surety for their good behaviour for a period not extending beyond one year.

With the passing of this amendment, the reformatory section of the Yeravada Jail in Bombay Province, used hitherto for receiving juvenile offenders committed to it under section 399 of the Criminal Procedure Code, was changed into a full-fledged reformatory school under the control of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Province. In the year 1916 the Salvation Army took an interest in the problem and opened the Willingdon Boys' Home at Byculla, Bombay, accommodating one hundred boys with a view to reclaim destitute and neglected children.

In 1917 the public of Bombay took a keen interest in the care and protection of children and under the leadership of Mr. (now Sir) R. P. Masani, the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India was inaugurated. It did commendable work in rescuing children from undesirable hands and environments, and pressed the Government for legislation in that sphere. As a result, the Bombay Legislature passed the Children Act in 1924 which did not come into operation till 1927, i.e., after the Declaration of Geneva on the rights of childhood. The Declaration maintains that every child has a right to protection from exploitation and abuse; that he must be gradually trained to earn a living and that he must be given sufficient means for normal physical and spiritual development which will enable him to become a useful and happy member of the community.

The principle of separate detention of juvenile offenders was for the first time initiated in India by the Indian Jails Committee, 1919-20, in its recommendations. It also points out that children commit offences as a result of immaturity and that the jail is not a fit place for keeping them. "The cold-blooded character of crimes sometimes committed by young children may generally be attributed to this lack of realization, just as boys are often cruel from mere thoughtlessness. It is well known that the full recognition of the laws of property comes with maturity, and that offences against property committed by the young are largely due to lack of suitable training and to bad upbringing. Experience proves that at the ages hereunder considered proper training will, in a great majority of cases, be successful, but such training cannot well be provided in prison. It should be given in a special institution devised and equipped for the purpose. Moreover, it is undesirable to familiarise

the young with the sights of prison life, or to blunt the fear of prison which is one of the most powerful deterrents from crime. For all these reasons, we consider that the imprisonment of children and young persons is clearly contrary to public policy, and we recommend that the provisions of the English Law on the subject, which have already been embodied in the Madras Children Act, should be generally adopted throughout India." <sup>1</sup>

At this time came the Reform of 1919 according to which the administration of prison became a provincial subject. The Madras Legislature was the first to pass the Children Act in 1920. As a consequence of the recommendations of the Indian Jails Committee, Children Acts were passed in Bengal in 1922, and as referred to above, in Bombay in 1924. But these Acts came into operation only after the League of Nations issued the Declaration of Geneva. This Declaration maintains that mankind owes to the child the best that it has to give. It further emphasises that the child must be fed, nursed and protected against every form of exploitation, and must be given the means requisite for its normal development, both materially and spiritually so as to enable it to devote itself to the services of its fellowmen. This Declaration did much to create public opinion through persistent propaganda in favour of the immediate necessity to provide for the protection of the child. As a result, the Bombay Government convened a conference of the representatives of social service agencies in Bombay in September 1926 to consider the question of setting up a new machinery for working the Children Act and the Children's Aid Society was started. The Act came into force in 1927 in Bombay. Madras followed in 1928 in enforcing the Act. The Central Province passed a similar measure in 1937 but it has not yet been enforced. The Government of Sind applied the provisions of the Bombay Children Act to the province of Sind in 1938. The Delhi Government enforced the Bombay Children Act in 1941 with minor necessary alterations. Wherever the Children Act came into force the application of the Reformatory Schools Act of 1897 ceased, as its provisions were more or less covered by the Children Act. However, in Delhi the Reformatory Schools Act still applies, as the portion of the Act relating to young offenders has not yet come into force. A child as defined by the Act means any person under the age of sixteen years; and a youthful offender means any child who has been found to have committed an offence punishable with transportation or imprisonment.

It will be of interest here to give the following tables indicating the position taken by different countries in the world in fixing the age of criminal responsibility in their respective countries.

<sup>1</sup> The Indian Jails Committee Report, 1919-20, published by the Government of India, Delhi; pp. 99.

## SYSTEM A

*Criminal responsibility attained at a fixed age in respect of the Juvenile Court's jurisdiction over young offenders.*

Country	Age of criminal responsibility	Jurisdiction of Juvenile Courts (or Child Welfare Council)		
		Minimum age	Maximum age of exclusive jurisdiction	Maximum age of concurrent jurisdiction with Adult Court
Argentina	14 years	14 years	18 years	...
Belgium	16 "	...	16 "	...
Denmark	15 "	...	15 "	18 years
Germany	14 "	14 years	18 "	...
Norway	14 "	...	14 "	18 years
Portugal	16 "	...	16 "	...
Sweden	15 "	...	15 "	18 years

## SYSTEM B

*Criminal responsibility fixed between a minimum and maximum age*

Country	Age of criminal responsibility	Jurisdiction of Juvenile Courts (or Child Welfare Council)			
	Where there is due understanding (Minimum)	Where due understanding is absent (Maximum)	Minimum age	Maximum age of exclusive jurisdiction	Maximum age of concurrent jurisdiction with Adult Court
Union of South Africa	7	14	7	16	...
Australia	14	18	14	18	...
Bolivia	10	17	...	...	...
United Kingdom	8	14	8	14	7
Brazil	14	18	14	18	...
Bulgaria	10	17	...	...	...
Canada	7	14	7	16	...
Chile	16	20	16	20	...
Czechoslovakia	14	18	14	...	18
France	13	16	13	16	18
Hungary	12	18	...	15	18
INDIA	7	14	...	16	...
Italy	14	18	...	18	...
Japan	14	18	...	16	18
Lithuania	10	17	...	...	...
Mexico	12	18	...	18	18
New Zealand	7	14	...	17	...
Poland	13	17	13	17	...
Netherlands	...	18	...	16	18
Rumania	14	19	14	19	...

The above figures show that the age of criminal responsibility in India is the lowest, being 7 years as compared to 14 to 16 years in most of the other countries. The maximum age of juvenile court jurisdiction too is low in India. It is 16 years while in almost every country it is as high as 18 years.

The Children Acts, though enacted separately in the provinces, are more or less similar, and so they may be discussed all at a time. The Act classifies children under three heads. One part of the Act deals with measures for the custody and protection of children who are destitutes. Any police officer, or other person so authorised, may bring any child, who has no home, or means of subsistence, or parents, or guardian, or whose guardian is a criminal, or who frequents the company of any reputed thief or prostitute, or is a prostitute, or is likely to fall in bad association, to the court, which either gives him in custody of his relatives on their executing a bond to be responsible for the good behaviour of the child, or sends him to some certified school. On the day of hearing, the child is brought into the juvenile court and the case is heard and decided in accordance with the provisions of the Children Act.

There are minor differences in the different provincial Acts regarding this part of the Act dealing with destitute and neglected children. For better understanding a summary of these differences is given in the table on page 320.

Another part of the Act deals with offences against children and their prevention. It provides for punishment of persons (having charge of children) for cruelty, abandonment, neglect, ill-treatment, causing or allowing the child to beg, being a drunkard while in charge of the child, for giving intoxicating liquor to the child, for inciting to beg or borrow or gamble, for taking pawn from a child, allowing the child to be in a brothel, and causing or encouraging seduction of young girls. Nothing in this section affects the right of any parent, teacher or other person having lawful charge of a child to administer suitable punishment to such child. The provisions of this part are found in Bombay, Delhi, Sind and C. P., but not in Madras. However, efforts are being made in Madras to get the Act amended to include this provision. When a person charged with any of the above offences is punished with imprisonment, the child is committed to the care of some of his relatives, or other fit person, or sent to a certified school until he attains the age of 18 years.

The third part of the Act is about the youthful offender. Youthful offender means any child who has been found to have committed an offence punishable with transportation or imprisonment. The Acts provide that as soon as a child is arrested for any non-bailable offence save the charge of culpable homicide, or any other offence punishable with transportation for life or death, he is released on bail, if sufficient security is forthcoming, unless for reasons to be recorded in writing the officer believes that such release would

Bombay	Sind	C. P.	Madras	Delhi	Bengal.
1. Has no home, settled place of abode or visible means of subsistence or has no parent or guardian who exercises regular and proper guardianship.	same as in Bombay	.....	same as in Bombay with the additional clause—'if found wandering'	same as in Bombay	same as in Madras
2. If found destitute and his parents, or surviving parent, or other guardian, or in the case of an illegitimate child his mother or other guardian, are, or is, as the case may be, undergoing transportation or imprisonment.	same as in Bombay	same as in Bombay	same as in Bombay	same as in Bombay	same as in Bombay
3. Is under the care of a parent or guardian who, by reason of criminal or drunken habits, is unfit to have the care of such person.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
4. Frequents the company of any reputed thief or prostitute.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
5. Is lodging or residing in or frequenting a house used by a prostitute for the purpose of prostitution.	Do.	Do.	No such provision	Do.	Do.
6. Is otherwise likely to fall into bad association, or to be exposed to moral danger, or to enter upon a life of crime.	Do.	No such provision	No such provision	Do.	No such provision
7. No definite provision for arresting begging child.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Lives by begging or is found in any street or place of public resort, begging or receiving alms, etc. etc.

bring him into association with any reputed criminal. More leniency, however, is shown in the case of girl offenders regarding their release on bail. If the child is not released on bail he is kept in a remand home run by the Children's Aid Society or some such organization and not in a police lock up or jail. It is provided: "No police officer shall, however, detain in custody any such person for a longer period than is reasonable under all the circumstances of the

case ; and such period shall not, in the absence of a special order of a court, exceed twenty-four hours, exclusive of the time necessary for the journey from the place of arrest to the court.

In Bombay and Madras the whole Act is in force while in Bengal and Delhi only the parts relating to destitute, neglected and dependent children, as also the part relating to cruelty on children, are in force. As regards the youthful offenders, they are tried in accordance with the ordinary criminal law in both these provinces. In Delhi the youthful offenders are tried by the juvenile court magistrate, of course under the ordinary criminal law, but he has instructions to consider the social investigation report in individual cases (prepared by the Chief Probation Officer of the province) before announcing judgment. The police in Delhi have orders to inform the Chief Probation Officer of all arrests of juvenile offenders by the police in order to enable him to investigate their social history and submit his reports. The social investigation reports help the judge to better understand the youthful offender in his social setting and in releasing him on probation if the circumstances are favourable. In Karachi, Part II of the Bombay Children Act, 1924, relating to the measures for the custody and protection of destitute children, etc., is already applied and the Government now contemplates applying sections 10, 10A to 10E and 14 of the Act also.

Amongst all the classes of children dealt with by the Children Acts in the different provinces, the number of neglected or destitute children has been the highest. The number of uncontrollable children brought before the court has been on the increase. In Bombay, during the year 1940-41 out of 2,716 children arrested 1,363 were neglected or destitute children (i.e. 50·14%) and 1,170 were youthful offenders (i.e. 42·34%). The number of uncontrollable children brought before the court increased to 100 from 66 in the previous year. In Madras in the year 1942 out of a total of 984 children the number of destitute or neglected children was 434 and those of uncontrollable was 61.

On the day of hearing the juvenile offender is produced before the juvenile court for being dealt with according to law. Pending his trial, the remand home where the young offender is kept serves as a clearing house for sorting out children before their individual needs are met. In these homes children follow a regular programme and are given some sort of instruction as well. The Superintendent of the Remand Home is generally the Chief Probation Officer and thus there is unification of approach, both physically and functionally. A child is not merely detained here till the case is decided. The Probation Officers have their quarters within the compound of the Home which gives them ample opportunities to study the children in their ordinary routine of life when they reveal themselves more naturally than in an arranged inter-



view. This all round study helps the Probation Officers and the detention home supervisors to understand the child in his proper setting and to do the best they can for him. While there are proper and separate remand homes under the Children's Aid Societies in Bombay, Madras and Bengal, there is no separate home in Delhi as the number of cases is small. Therefore, provision for detention is made in the Reformatory School itself.

On the date fixed for trial the child comes into the court. Every care is taken by the Juvenile Court to keep the detention period as short as possible, and detention is limited to those children for whom it is absolutely necessary. Such children include runaways and homeless, those whose home conditions are so bad that immediate removal is necessary, those beyond the control of their parents, those whose parents cannot be relied upon to produce them in the court, those who have committed offences so serious that their release pending the disposition of their cases would endanger the public safety, and those who must be held as witnesses. Every child so taken into custody is entrusted to one of the Probation Officers attached to the juvenile court for investigation and he must submit a report to the court on the day of hearing of the particular case. The Probation Officer makes a social study of the child including his physical and mental condition, his home life, school career, religious background and his environment. If he had been employed information may be received from the employer also. Further, the Probation Officer contacts the child's parents and such other persons who may prove helpful. Where psychiatric study is necessary it is also obtained. The whole object of this detailed investigation is not to gather evidence against the child but to study him in the light of the various conditioning factors entering into his misbehaviour.

The purpose of this preliminary investigation is to present a history of the case to the magistrate. The proceedings are of a civil nature as opposed to the criminal ones. In the proceedings of a criminal nature the offender is charged with an offence, sufficient evidence is adduced by the prosecution to prove the crime, charge is framed and the child is asked to plead guilty or not-guilty. If he pleads guilty, he is punished; if he pleads not-guilty, further evidence on behalf of the prosecution is taken and the offender is given an opportunity to defend himself, and finally if he is found guilty he is punished with imprisonment or fine or both. On the other hand, the procedure of the juvenile court is of civil nature, it being a court of chancery. Rather than on the act itself, the emphasis is laid upon the circumstances which led the offender to commit that particular act. The specific offence at issue is considered as one of the many factors which led him to appear in the court. No punishment is awarded. On the other hand, care and protection is provided to the child in

order to free him from the undesirable forces which influenced him to delinquent behaviour so that he may be turned into a useful member of society. "The purpose of the proceedings here is not punishment, but correction of conditions, care and protection of the child, and prevention of a recurrence through constructive work of the court. Conservation of the child as a valuable asset of the community is the dominant note."<sup>2</sup>

The Juvenile Court does not need the traditional furnishing of the court room as the trial is informal and the child has to be made to feel at home. Hence, customary legal procedure, its rules of evidence, its insistence on categorical answers of 'yes' or 'no' have no place here. The court room is a smaller one with no separate railings for the lawyers or the offenders. The child, parents, judge and the probation officer are present in the atmosphere of an informal conference. In some places where there are not many cases, there is no separate Juvenile Court, but the same criminal court, with minor amendments, serves the purposes on fixed days in the week. The public is not allowed and even newspaper reporting is prohibited. In Madras, there is no such provision but efforts are being made to have the provision for prohibiting the publication of names, addresses and other details of juvenile delinquents. The object of providing such a simple atmosphere is to make it possible for the child to respond naturally and readily to the questions put to him. The court room is filled with the spirit of friendliness. The child is not brought as an accused person with a complaint filed against him but as a juvenile on whose behalf a petition is filed. The petition alleges the occurrence of the delinquency, stating the age, nature, physical peculiarities, social circumstances, family situation, surroundings, etc., which led him to commit the act. Summons, instead of warrant, is used and the police officers, if any, appear in plain clothes. In such a calm atmosphere the young offender, his relatives and associates are examined by the court. The school representative and others having an interest in the child, including the family physician, if any, are heard by the court one by one. Since evidence is given individually these persons are not likely to be influenced by the statements of other witnesses, and so, state only what they themselves know. The judge or the referee usually asks most of the questions. Before the enquiry begins, the judge receives a report of the probation officer's social investigation of the case.

The court room has a record system which provides for the filling of necessary legal records, social investigation reports, and records of the work done by the probation officer with the cases on probation for future reference, if any of the delinquents is brought again before the court. This record is valuable also for the purpose of statistical study and social research.

<sup>2</sup> Bernard Flexner and Roger Baldwin—*Juvenile Courts and Probation*, p. 21.

In this manner much pertinent information about the delinquent is made available and "the court is thus enabled to render a decision which in the end is designed to serve the best interest and permanent welfare of the child. The trial judge takes into consideration all of the valuable information gathered by the probation officers and the diagnosis of the medical department concerning the physical and mental condition of the child."

Taking all these facts into consideration the court deals with the case in any one or more of the following ways :—(a) By discharging the offender after due admonition, or (b) by committing the offender to the care of his parent, guardian, other adult relative or other fit person, on such parent, guardian, relative or person executing a bond to be responsible for his good behaviour, or (c) by so discharging the offender and placing him under the supervision of a person named by the court, or (cc) by releasing the offender on probation, or (d) by sending the offender to a certified school, or (e) by sentencing the offender to caning in cases where the conduct of the offender has been such as to lead the court to believe that no other punishment would be effective, or (f) by ordering the parent or guardian to pay a fine, or (g) by ordering the offender to pay a fine, or (h) where the offender is a child (of fourteen years of age or upward) by sentencing him to imprisonment, or (i) by treating the case in any other manner in which it may legally be dealt with.

It may be added here that the action taken by the court under any of the above heads does not, in any way, disqualify the child. It does not impose any civil disability such as is imposed upon those sentenced under the criminal law, nor is the child deemed a criminal or as having been convicted of any crime by reason of any such orders. It is provided that 'if a child is found to have committed any offence, the fact that he has been so (found) shall not have any effect under Section 75 of the Indian Penal Code,<sup>3</sup> or Section 565 of the Code of Criminal Procedure<sup>4</sup> or

<sup>3</sup> Section 75, I. P. C., runs :—"Whoever, having been convicted (a) by a court in British India, of an offence punishable under chapter XII of this code with imprisonment of either description for a term of three years or upward, or (b) by a court of tribunal in the territories of any Native Prince or State in India acting under the general or special authority of the Governor General in Council or of any local Government, of an offence which would, if committed in British India, have been punishable under those chapters of this code with like imprisonment for the like term, shall be guilty of any offence punishable under either of those chapters with like imprisonment for the like term, shall be subject for every such subsequent offence to transportation for life, or to imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years."

<sup>4</sup> Section 565, Cr. P. C.—This section is a lengthy one dealing with the order for notifying address of previously convicted offender. The section authorised the magistrate passing orders in a criminal case to also order that the residence of the accused person and any change of, or absence from such residence after release be notified as hereinafter for a term not exceeding five years from the date of expiration of sentence.

operate as a disqualification for office or election under any law.' The evidence given by the child in Juvenile Court cannot be used against him in any proceedings in any other court.

Among the awards that the court makes, the release on probation and committing to an institution are the most important and so we shall discuss them in some details. In Bombay, during 1940-41 out of a total of 2,697 children brought before Juvenile Court as many as 555 were committed to institutions and 192 were released on probation. Similarly in Madras, in 1942 out of a total of 985 children, 262 were sent to institutions and 173 were placed on probation. In Karachi, in the year 1940-41, 30 children out of 91 were released on probation.

*Probation.*—We have seen above that the young offender is not a criminal deserving punishment but is a ward of society in need of help. The probation officer gives him this help. "Probation is a form of treatment for persons considered capable of being restored to well ordered law-abiding lives without the extremity of shutting them up for a longer or shorter period. It is a method of dealing with a person who has been found guilty of an offence by which he has been released under certain conditions imposed by the court as to conduct. It is a method of supervision of extra-moral discipline intended and designed to give the offender an opportunity to demonstrate that he is capable of so ordering his conduct as to avoid further conflict with the law and to be in future a law-abiding citizen; and it is the responsibility of the probation officer to give him such aid by way of counsel and planning as he may need to that end to see that he does so adjust his life in the community and, if he fails to do so, to bring him before the court for further dispossession. In the case of persistent or serious failure, such further dispossession will generally involve imposition of sentence."

The Probation Officers are appointed either by the Children's Aid Societies or the Government of the Province but are subject to the control of the Juvenile Court to which they are attached. The treatment of an individual case depends upon the study of his case separately, and so the Probation Officer works out a plan of treatment for each individual probationer on the basis of his social case history. In making out the plan of treatment he takes into consideration as assets salutary home atmosphere, satisfactory school record and healthy child-parent relationship, while physical defects, frequency of delinquency in the neighbourhood, lack of wholesome leisure-time activities he sets down on the liability side.

The responsibility of the probation officer begins with the investigation of need and does not cease until the relief is discontinued or the person has passed from the supervision of the probation officer. When a child is placed

on probation, the probation officer makes frequent contacts with the probationer by visiting him in his home, and carries out a programme designed to meet his needs. A large number of children commit offences on account of the parents' ignorance of the method of child care, training and character development, and of the harmful influences of bad associates and neighbours. The duty of the probation officer is to visit or receive visits from the youthful offender at such reasonable intervals as may be specified in the order passed by the court or subject thereto, and as the probation officer may think fit; and to see that he or his relative, as the case may be, or other person to whose care such child or youthful offender is committed, observes the conditions of the bond. He also renders such help as he can to enlighten the parents on child care and training. The final aim of the probation officer is to rehabilitate the child and adjust him to successful social living in his home and community. For this purpose he takes the help of the church, school, recreational and other character building agencies. He makes arrangements for the education of his ward and helps him to get a job or some training leading to employment. In short, he becomes a friend and guide of the boy. During the period of probation, the probation officer submits weekly reports regarding the progress of his probationer. The boy is released from probation, only when the court is satisfied of his reformation as reported by the probation officer. If the report reveals that he has not improved much during the period of probation, the court may, after enquiry and if it deems fit, order him to be detained in a certified school.

*Institutional Treatment.*—Committing the offender to a certified school is a most common method of dealing with delinquent children. A certified school may be a government institution or a private one but certified by the government for receiving young offenders. Such a school is subject to regular inspection, and the government, if dissatisfied, can withdraw the certification. The institution works as an interlude in the young offender's community training to charge the direction of his development in order to bring about a better attitude on the part of the delinquent entrusted by the Juvenile Court. It provides the right condition not merely for the inmate's physical and mental well-being, but also for fitting them vocationally and socially according to their special aptitude and social standards. Training is provided in a number of handicrafts with a view to fit them for earning a fair living and to avoid their again falling into bad association leading to their arrest. Another service these institutions are expected to render is to correct personality defects by giving each delinquent child individualized attention.

The whole method of treatment can be termed as re-education of the

child. "Re-education here means something much broader and deeper than any amount of improvement or increase in the academic instruction or vocational training which the individual child is to receive. It means re-shaping his personality-difficulties to the end that he may achieve healthy emotional development as well as growth in mental equipment or manual skill. It means giving the child an opportunity to meet and experience life under controlled conditions, in order that he may be more readily re-directed and guided into behaviour channels that will gratify him and be acceptable to others. It also implies making quite sure before he is released that he has acquired sufficient re-education to enable him to make those personal and social adjustments that will be necessary if he is to lead a fuller, happier, more productive life and if he is to avoid those conflicts which had previously brought him, and would again bring him, into conflict with society and its laws. To imply that all these things can be done for boys would be to sidestep reality flagrantly. Realistically the institution's task is to discover each boy's assets and liabilities in relation to the social scheme, and then to go as far as possible in each case towards building up a personality capable of satisfactory self-direction."<sup>6</sup>

*Release on Licence or Parole.*—It is provided that after the expiration of six months of detention of a youthful offender in a certified school, the Chief Inspector, on being satisfied that the young offender will abstain from crime and will lead a good life, can grant him a licence permitting him to live under the supervision and authority of some approved person willing to take charge of the offender. The time during which the child remains absent from the school on licence is reckoned as the period of detention. The licence can be cancelled by the Chief-Inspector on a breach of any of the conditions under which the licence was granted. Thus the offender is not released outright when he leaves the institution but is placed under the authoritative supervision of a person known as parole officer.

The parole officer is the friend and guide of the parolee. He is expected to rehabilitate his ward and to find him employment, so that he may get on in life as a normal member of society. This officer is expected to do all he can to make the offender a law-abiding citizen by making the best of his assets in the way of attitudes and aptitudes. For this purpose the parole officer visits his parolee frequently and also takes the help of his family, relatives and public agencies. Satisfactory results cannot be attained unless the officers to whom their work is entrusted are well trained and well qualified for this responsible task.

<sup>6</sup> U. S. Department of Labour, Children's Bureau, *Institutional Treatment of Delinquent Boys*, Part I, Publication No. 228, Washington, D. C., 1935, p. 3.

*A Few Suggestions.*—Reforming the young offenders is the main function of the Juvenile Court. We have seen above that the entire work of reforming the offender rests with the judge and the probation officers attached to his court. When the problem of changing human behaviour is tackled, we are in a different and more difficult sphere.' The art of helping young people out of their behaviour problems requires a training and skill still unknown to the amateur. Hence, utmost care must be exercised in the selection of both the judge and the probation officers, as these are just like the two wheels of a carriage. But, unfortunately, most of the judges of the juvenile courts in India are generally magistrates of the criminal courts with no special knowledge of the philosophy underlying juvenile delinquency and its proper handling, with the consequence that more emphasis is laid upon the crime itself than upon the circumstances leading to that act. The judge of the juvenile court is there not so much to administer the law but even more to protect and conserve the child as an asset of the community. It is the bounden duty of the juvenile court magistrate to look behind his misdemeanours and discover their underlying causes. Guardianship is more important than punishment. It is, therefore, necessary for the judge to possess special qualifications for juvenile-court work. Though he may or may not have legal training, it is essential that he should have a sound knowledge of child psychology, juvenile delinquency and its social treatment. Lastly, he should be a full-time officer, permanently placed for this work in order to keep detention at a minimum, to give more time to hear each case carefully and to give general guidance to the work of the court. It is gratifying to note that the Bombay Government has recently appointed a lady psychologist, formerly of the Tata School, with experience of juvenile work to the post of the juvenile court magistrate. The excellent work done by her fully justifies the appointment of a non-lawyer but one with sound social training in juvenile work. This lead given by the Bombay Government may well be followed by other provincial governments.

The Bombay Juvenile Court is the only Court whose probation officers are all graduates of the Tata School, the only institution in India for training social workers. This Court has fully demonstrated the value of having trained probation officers. The practice of appointing women assistants to sit with the judges to hear and pass orders upon all girls' cases should be more liberally adopted in all juvenile courts, as this method is quite helpful in cases which involve sex delinquencies or sex offences.

Since most of the juvenile cases are brought before the court by the police, the police should be given a special course in juvenile delinquency and child psychology to better understand their responsibility in handling children. It must also be pointed out that the practice of joint trial of the adult offender

and the juvenile offender needs to be stopped. The adult offender should be tried in a regular criminal court and the juvenile offender should be dealt with by the juvenile court.

Lastly, it may be suggested that the Children Acts should be so amended as to empower the courts to make use of foster homes for juvenile delinquents and destitutes if the natural home is unfit for the child. A suitable foster home in such a case will be more conducive to his rehabilitation. The child wants to love and be loved by some one. He craves for response and opportunities for self-expression. When he finds the foster parents affectionate and develops a sense of security, he will really respond to their thoughtful guidance and correction. The courts already possess the power to commit children, who might have been sent to industrial schools, to the care of a relative or other fit person ; but there are many cases of young offenders or those in need of care or protection where, though no relative or friend may be found, there may still be the possibility of finding some suitable home in which the child or young person can be boarded out. The Act should provide for this situation. Before placing the child in a foster home, it is necessary to give him a thorough physical and mental examination to make sure of his fitness to be so placed. Similarly, the foster home should also be carefully investigated with regard to its suitability to the special requirements of the child to be placed. The foster parents should be given full knowledge of the child and his social history, and also of the type of retraining needed. The probation officer should visit the home from time to time to acquaint himself with the progress of the child under foster care and keep a record of the same, and also give such assistance and suggestions as the foster parents may need in making their programme of retraining more effective.

• The criminologists of to-day are all agreed that most of the habitual criminals start their anti-social activities in young age. The seeds of criminal careers are sown in the neglected soil of early childhood. If not treated in the proper way and at the proper time, the juvenile delinquent of to-day becomes the criminal of to-morrow. Therefore, if we can reform the juvenile delinquents and remove the social causes which make them commit anti-social acts, the number of habitual criminals will be greatly reduced. Hence, the attack at the root of crime must begin in childhood. The juveniles are in their impressionable years and can be more easily remoulded than those adults who have developed criminal habits. Money spent on child welfare is not an expenditure but an investment; it is profitable in that in the long run it shows financial savings and social gains. The right treatment of young offenders is the surest way of reducing crime. The time has come not only for the provinces in India, where the Children Act has not yet been enacted and enforced, to



follow the example of Bombay and Madras, but also for the Central Government to establish a Juvenile Court Advisory Committee at the head quarters with a view to help and guide the provincial juvenile courts and the Children's Aid Societies in their work. Although justice is a provincial subject, and the Children Acts, under which Children's Aid Societies and juvenile courts are working, are provincial Acts, yet the Central Government should exercise a general supervision on the lines of "Probation and After Care Advisory Committee" in London appointed by the Home Office in spite of the fact that probation service in England depends on local and not on central administration.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT LEPROSY

T. N. JAGADISAN

The social stigma attached to leprosy has condemned a million or so of sufferers to needless and unendurable ostracism and misery. Very few realize that leprosy is not so much a public health problem as a social problem. In this article Mr. Jagadisan points out that "it is not the stage of the disease but the type that decides infectivity", and that leprosy cases could be minimized by proper methods of isolation, especially keeping the children from contagious contacts.

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**H**ISTORY and Distribution in the World.—Leprosy is one of the oldest diseases known to mankind. The story of the spread of leprosy over the globe is one long record of affected persons carrying it to countries previously free from the disease. Tradition has it that the disease spread from the bases of the Nile in Africa to other parts of the world. It is estimated that at the present time there are about three million cases of leprosy in the world. This, however, can only be at best a guess. The countries which have the highest leprosy incidences are in the tropical or sub-tropical regions, and many of these areas have a high annual rainfall and a hot humid climate. The heaviest leprosy areas are in the East and South Asia, particularly China and India, the Malaya Archipelago, Africa, and in parts of South America. It is also present in certain parts of Europe, e.g., Russia, Norway, the Balkan and the Baltic States. In the British Isles there are probably about ninety infected persons, and all of these have lived in the East and contracted the disease there, except for an occasional relative being infected in England, e.g., wife or child. The only countries from which leprosy has disappeared are in the temperate zone of Europe. One of the striking features of leprosy is that it shows little tendency to spread in certain regions and localities.

About five or six hundred years ago leprosy was very prevalent in Europe. With one-tenth of its present population, it is estimated to have had nearly two thousand leprosy institutions. It appears that leprosy died down in Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Its rapid decline there is perhaps the most remarkable chapter in the long history of the disease. Regarding the cause of this decline there has been some controversy. One school of opinion holds that the rigour of isolation amounting to banishment in mediaeval Europe was responsible for the decline of the disease. Another school thinks that after a period of wide prevalence, the disease tended to die out in the affected areas.

*Conditions of Infection.*—Leprosy is a disease caused by a bacillus (*Mycobacterium lepræ*) and transmitted by a person with leprosy to a healthy individual. It is presumed that in all probability the bacilli enter the body through abrasions of the skin, and mucous membranes of the nose. But not every case of leprosy is infective, nor does every person who comes into contact with infective leprosy contract the disease. In India it is estimated that about 80% of the million or so cases are non-infective, and do not present a public health problem. Of the infective cases, we are now able to affirm that they are a menace particularly to children and infrequently to adults. Children, living in homes where there is leprosy, are highly susceptible to the disease. As for adults, even in cases of conjugal relationship between an affected partner and a healthy one, infection is not common. In the many leprosy institutions scattered all over the world, doctors, nurses and lay workers have been in daily association with patients, but the incidence of infection is very small. Notable examples of leprosy workers who became infected are Father Damien at Molokai, Hawaii, Father Bogliolo in New Orleans, Sir George Turner in Pretoria, and Mary Reed in India. These illustrious exceptions in the long record of leprosy work only prove the rule. The infectivity of leprosy among adults is so low that experiments on the inoculation of healthy persons with actual leprosy material has met with no success.

There are two or three times as many cases of leprosy among the men as there are among women. But in children the rate appears to be more equal in the sexes. It would appear that, given equal chances of infection the incidence is equally distributed between the sexes in the younger periods of life. In the male, there is observed an increased tendency to develop the more serious forms of leprosy.

*Leprosy in Children.*—The two most important factors governing infection are: (1) age of the individual who comes into contact with infective leprosy and (2) the closeness of the contact. When careful enquiries are made, most cases of leprosy reveal a history of long and intimate contact with an infective case, such as physical contact, sleeping in the same bed, using infected vessels, etc. The closer the contact the more serious is the infection. At the Silver Jubilee Children's Clinic, Saidapet (opened on March 20th, 1937) a complete investigation of leprosy in children and all the problems connected with it is made. As a result of these investigations it has been found that the age at which leprosy is most likely to become manifest is between the years 6 and 13, and that very frequently the source of infection is traceable to contact in early childhood with an infective case. It is also inferred that the children who develop the serious types of leprosy are

mostly those who have had close contact for a considerable length of time in an overcrowded house with infective leprosy. *Intrafamilial contact*, i.e., contact within the family, especially 'room contact', is the most powerful source of infection. *Extrafamilial contact* or the mixing of children with cases outside the family is less powerful. Casual contacts are not a serious danger, but as a rule children should be scrupulously kept away from contact with cases of infective leprosy. *For, in leprosy to save the child is to save society.* In many cases, leprosy in adults has been acquired in childhood and developed after a latent period varying from three months to forty years.

*Leprosy not Hereditary.*—Leprosy is not a hereditary disease. Children born to infective parent or parents do not develop the disease if they are removed from contact with the infective persons at an early age, or as soon after birth as possible. Any child brought into contact with an infective case appears to have as much chance of developing the disease as the children of the patient. 'Family susceptibility' is sometimes spoken of, but it has not been definitely established. Leprosy, like tuberculosis, runs in families as a result of infection by contact. Some kinds of food have been suspected to favour the spread of the disease, but these assumptions have been largely disapproved. Some insects, for example, bed-bugs and mosquitoes have been suspected to be agents in the transmission of leprosy, but the evidence is largely presumptive. *The organism of leprosy is introduced into the body, mostly in childhood, through close and generally prolonged contact with an infective case, especially under conditions of personal and domestic uncleanness and overcrowding.*

It is remarkable that not every child that comes into contact with infective leprosy is infected. It is still more remarkable that about forty per cent of the children who acquire the disease lose all signs of the disease before adult life is reached, and that of the other sixty per cent only a minority develop the more serious forms of leprosy. It may thus be seen that leprosy is not easily communicated and that the human body possesses a high degree of resistance to the disease. Leprosy is frequently self-healing. All these facts show that the age-long dread of leprosy is unjustified. The notion that leprosy is *Maha-roga*, the greatest of diseases, is wrong, though looking at a neglected case one might be led to take this view. That high eminence must belong to cancer or some other malignant disease. However, a serious, not a cheerful view, should be taken of the disease. Leprosy should be regarded as a disease causing suffering if not excessive pain, tormenting the mind (because of the present outlook of the public), sometimes disabling the body and placing on the sufferer and his family a heavy burden, but withal, capable, like other diseases, of control and alleviation. The most

encouraging factor in the campaign against leprosy "is that in recent years scientific studies of leprosy and its control have greatly advanced.

*Two Types of Leprosy, Infective and Non-infective.*—The infective type of leprosy is called 'lepromatous leprosy'; formerly it was known as 'cutaneous leprosy'. Infective cases shed bacilli from the nose, throat and skin. Competent doctors only can pronounce a case infective. But certain signs, noticeable even by the lay man are associated with the infective type of leprosy, known in the doctor's language as an 'open case'. In this form the skin of face and ears and other parts of the body becomes 'thickened in the more advanced stages. Eye-brows may show thickening and loss of hair. Smooth and shiny red patches, and nodules may appear on various parts of the body. But there is a diffuse type of cutaneous lesions, highly infective but difficult to detect. It becomes, therefore, necessary to look out for leprosy, not in fear or disdain but in watchful sympathy. For the individuals may look healthy and not consider themselves ill. They mix freely with the unwary public. On the contrary, there are cases with marked mutilations which are not infective. But the public shun them in ignorance and prejudice. They should know that *it is not the stage of the disease, but the type that decides infectivity.*

*Neural Leprosy.*—The non-infective type of leprosy is generally known as neural leprosy. Neural leprosy is of two kinds. There is *the type without any patches in the skin.* In this form certain changes occur in the arms and legs and sometimes in the face. The affected limb becomes benumbed and the patient loses heat and cold sensation, as well as touch sensation. Wasting of muscles and loss of nerve power may follow. Later on, the fingers and toes may become bent and ulcers may develop. Bones may become involved and unless proper medical care (which may include some surgery) is given, great deformity and disablement may result.

The other type is *leprosy with patches on the skin in which there is a loss or diminution of sensation.* In this type, one or more patches appear on the skin, pale and flat. But the patches may sometimes be thick and red. Similar patches may appear in some other skin diseases. The feature which distinguishes the patches in leprosy from other patches is the loss or diminution of the sensations of touch and pain. When touched lightly with a thin piece of paper or a feather, the patient does not feel the touch on these spots. When pricked with pin, either he does not feel any pain or he feels less pain than he would feel in the unaffected skin.

The neural or anaesthetic form of leprosy is very common in India. Many of these cases show the patches and nothing else. Sometimes with the patches are combined sensory changes in the limbs resulting from a disturb-

ance of the nerve supply.

Neural leprosy is considered the less serious or 'benign' form because it is generally non-infective, or 'closed' in the language of the doctor. In this type the bacilli cannot generally be found in the superficial tissues or in the discharges of the body on bacteriological examination. So in this type the bacilli are not transmitted by 'contact'. It is also benign because the disease in this type is usually mild and progresses little, and is capable of arrest and self-healing. But it can produce great deformity and mutilation resulting in pitiable helplessness. But the mutilated patient is not infective and people should not turn away from him in disgust and fear. He is not a public health problem; he is a social problem.

*Treatment in Leprosy.*—Leprosy is generally treated with injections of hydnocarpus (*Chaulmoogra*) oil, a drug known to ancient Indian Medicine. By worldwide use in leprosy institutions hydnocarpus has been found to be the best remedy for leprosy. But its effects depend upon the type of the disease, the resistance of the individual, and the persistence of the treatment. *A very important factor in treatment is the persistent co-operation of the patient.* Without this the doctor's efforts cannot bear fruit. But very often a patient gives up injections after a few months, gets worse, and creates the erroneous impression amongst his acquaintances that treatment is useless in leprosy. On the other hand, a wise and careful patient may get better by regular treatment and instil confidence in others. Some people come to think that regular treatment can effect a cure in every case. It is not so. Cases are recorded of model patients keeping the activity of the disease through a long life. But even in these cases regularity of treatment may check the rapid growth of the disease. At the Lady Willingdon Leprosy Sanatorium, Chingleput, intensive treatment of early lepromatous cases has resulted in an increasing number of cases becoming negative. With regard to the relapse rate and the prognosis of leprosy I cannot do better than quote the opinion of a recognized authority<sup>1</sup> who has said "the risk of relapse is great in the lepromatous case and it cannot be too strongly emphasised that while a physician is never justified in destroying the hopes of his patient, yet he should be extremely guarded in any pronouncement of recovery in this type of case. I always say to my patients that, while I shall do all I can to help them, I cannot make any promises, telling them at the same time that it will be at least six months to a year before I can say anything further; for by that time one usually can discover whether the patient is responding to treatment or not." It is commonly thought that

<sup>1</sup> Dr. R. G. Cochrane on "The Classification of Leprosy with special reference to its importance in treatment and prognosis" published in the *Journal of the Christian Medical Association*, Vol. XII, 1937, page 430-431.

the earlier one comes for treatment the better are the chances of recovery. But the results of treatment do not solely depend on how early a patient comes for treatment, but on what the type of his disease is. One man may have the disease for several years and be most amenable to treatment, while another may have had the disease only for a few months and the chances of improvement be slight and uncertain. The patient should, however, consult a doctor early, who will tell him whether the disease is serious. If the disease is pronounced serious, he must at once take immediate and vigorous treatment. In the serious types of the disease, much improvement may not be expected, but the patient should endeavour to keep up his general health and co-operate with his doctor by being persistent in treatment. We are able with available treatment to control more rapidly neural leprosy if the patient gives his co-operation. But if neglected, neural leprosy may lead to deformity and mutilation. In some conditions great care has to be taken of hands and feet, and rest may be needed. Ulcers, burns and even small injuries should not be neglected. In case of loss of 'heat' sensation one should not touch or handle hot things. Extreme alertness may be necessary to follow this precaution. In case of wasted muscles and fingers which show a tendency to bend, massage with oil persistently carried out over a long period is beneficial. In this condition, massage with electric battery is also helpful. In case of deformities or defects in the feet, special shoes may be prescribed by the doctor. All this implies the patient's earnestness to do his best.

In leprosy it is wrong to look for speedy cure. If anyone promises a dramatic remedy, the patient had better not put his faith in that remedy. He should not resort to quack remedies. Often a patient resorts to some advertised remedy, and meeting with no success goes to a leprosy specialist for injections later than he should have done. In certain types of neural leprosy the patients may recover although no treatment is taken. It is in such cases that 'quack' medicines attain a reputation, for the untrained person cannot differentiate between cases which recover of themselves and those which must receive treatment. *As a result of treatment much of leprosy can be controlled, and some of it can be cured, or as the doctor prefers to say 'arrested'.*

*Prevention Our Only Effective Weapon.*—'Prevention is better than cure' applies with particular force to leprosy. For, control by treatment is a task attended by many difficulties. The best, and indeed *the only way to get rid of leprosy in the community, is to prevent people from getting it.* As we now know that most leprosy is contracted in childhood by prolonged contact with infective leprosy, the most important step in prevention is the prevention of contact between children and infective cases of leprosy. Isolation of infective cases is essential in the interest of the children primarily, and adults second-

arily. Here is the crux of the leprosy problem. The report of the Central Advisory Board of Health on Leprosy and its Control in India (1942) says: "It is no use adopting the attitude, as is sometimes done, that isolation in India is impracticable and therefore other methods must be used. *There is no other method which will replace isolation.* What has to be done is to try to evolve methods of isolation which are suitable to Indian conditions."

*Methods of Isolation.*—Isolation may be carried out in different ways. Infective cases may be sent to a leprosy institution or sanatorium. But these institutions, as they now exist, cannot take in all the infective cases. The number of infective cases of leprosy in India, it is roughly estimated, may be about one quarter of a million and all the institutions in India together have accommodation for roughly 14,000. Even if admission were restricted only to infective cases, these institutions can deal only with a small fraction of the total number. But even granting we had a sufficient number of institutions, it would not be easy, at any rate until the conscience of the society is strongly roused in the matter, to persuade the infective cases to isolate themselves in an institution, or to persuade the near relations of these cases to agree to such isolation. In a country, where tradition and sentiment are strong, the question of isolation in institutions presents great difficulty. Compulsory removal to an isolation centre by legislative enactments may be considered. But, as the report on Leprosy and its Control in India says, "If legal action takes away the livelihood of a patient, the authority which enforces the law should make provision for the maintenance of the patient and his immediate dependents." The question of legislation seems on the whole fraught with extreme difficulty and may wait to be taken up after a period of intensive education of the public in the knowledge of the disease. For, legislation that is in advance of public opinion will lead to concealment and corruption. But beggars with infective leprosy should, however, be compulsorily isolated. For the rest, we must educate society into sending the infective patients to institutions. These institutions must be made increasingly attractive, and the dependents of the isolated cases should be cared for.

An infective case can also be isolated in the home. Amongst a people with a high sense of hygiene and concern for public health it should be possible to keep infective patients isolated in their own homes. The patient should, if possible, live in a separate house, lodging his family, especially the children, in another house. But if resources do not permit this arrangement, he should keep a separate room for himself in his house, keep his bedding, clothes and utensils apart from those of the rest, and scrupulously keep away from children. He must sleep apart. Only elderly people should go near the infective patient to attend to his needs. After attending to



his needs the attendant should use plenty of soap and water in cleaning his hands, especially if there is a chance of his handling children. These precautions, if carried out rigorously, would go a long way to minimise the danger of infection, because leprosy is not easily communicated. But special vigilance on the part of the family and willing co-operation on the part of the patient are needed, if home isolation is to be effective, and in most homes these are lacking. We may, however, hope that if people are educated in the disease and made vividly to realise the special danger to children from infective leprosy, they may learn to isolate the infective patients in their own homes. It is true that isolation in institutions is the most effective form of isolation and that home isolation is generally not effective. But, as at present we have no means of isolating all infective cases in institutions, the people should be widely instructed in the homes. One way of minimising the danger of infection would be to send the children of the family to live with healthy relations. For, *the essential thing is to keep the children from infective cases.*

In order to overcome some of the difficulties of home isolation, attempts have been made in a few villages in India to encourage group isolation of infective cases of leprosy. A small plot of land is secured on the edge of the village, huts are erected and the infective patients are encouraged to live together. But the patients are not able to meet all their expenses and they have to depend on voluntary gifts.

*Leprosy as a Social Problem.*—Social and economic conditions influence leprosy in so far as they tend to result in overcrowding. While leprosy is more common among the poor it is by no means confined to them, and many well-to-do persons suffer from this disease. Unfortunately carelessness as to the isolation of the infective case is frequently seen in higher social circles, for they appear to be reluctant to take measures in their own homes for fear of the resultant publicity. Lack of knowledge of health matters in general greatly contributes to the spread of leprosy.

At the present time the attitude of individual persons toward leprosy varies greatly. Some persons will be horrified to hear the very name of 'Leprosy', and get into a panic if a person with leprosy comes anywhere near them. Some others will be completely indifferent to leprosy as far as ordinary social contacts are concerned. Both these attitudes of indifference and exaggerated fear are harmful. The public must take a more rational view of the disease based on a sound knowledge of the simple facts of the disease. They must especially be made to realise that where a person is non-infective, he should be allowed to go the round of his daily life like any other citizen. But, unfortunately the people are in such a dark terror of this

disease that they do ~~not~~ make any difference between an infective and non-infective case. Sometimes employment is denied even to persons who possess a certificate from a competent medical authority that the disease is arrested and that the patient is non-infective. It should be borne in mind that a person who has had leprosy and has recovered from it is no worse from the public health standpoint than a man who once had tuberculosis.

The unreasoning dread of leprosy among people makes the social position of the person suffering from leprosy very unhappy. Perhaps his mental suffering is ~~far~~ greater than his physical suffering. What makes leprosy so heavy a burden to the sufferer and his family is this social stigma, so unjustified but so general. He becomes a marked person and people brand him with an offensive name 'leper'. For, though the dictionary may say that 'leper' means 'one who suffers from leprosy', the word in people's lips implies a world of stigma. The dread of leprosy and the derision of the sufferer seem to be in the blood of people. It may perhaps take a generation or more of intensive education to melt the hardness of this secret prejudice lurking in almost every one of us. But not until we have overcome this fear and prejudice can there be appreciable progress in our control of leprosy. For, in his fear of ostracism, the patient has a tendency to conceal his disease for a long time and omits to take treatment in the early years of his disease when treatment can be most effective.

The need for a new outlook on leprosy by the public, the patient and the doctor cannot be over emphasized. The patient must approach his problem in a hopeful spirit. Mental courage can go a long way towards keeping up his patience and perseverance in treatment. A courageous patient creates in those around him a better out-look for the disease. A non-infective or ~~arrested~~ case is not often known to be so. If the patient himself would tell others the nature of his disease and explain its harmlessness he will not only get easily accepted in society in course of time, but he will spread sounder knowledge of the disease. The infective patient need not go into banishment or indulge in despair, but only follow certain restrictions and precautions, and also take intensive treatment. His is a hard lot, for improvement is uncertain and slow, and the need of his isolation, especially from children, is paramount. If, however, he is animated by the thought that he should not contribute to the repetition in society of the sort of suffering he has to endure, he will bear his lot less heavily. But society must give him sympathy and help. What he needs is not pity but understanding and often organised material help.

The public must divest themselves of all wrong ideas of the disease, such as that it is loathsome, hereditary, highly infective in every case and even

in casual contact, and always incurable. The report on Leprosy and Its Control says, "The first need is that misleading ideas about leprosy often entertained by the general public, and even by administrative officers and legislators and sometimes by the medical profession and medical and public health administrators should be abandoned." Good, educative propaganda is much needed, but unnecessary and exaggerated fears should not be instilled by propaganda. It is possible that in the beginning, knowledge of the disease, and the consequent ability to detect cases will only increase the fears of the public. For, knowledge will grow sooner than prejudice will wear out. But sound knowledge, judiciously spread, can alone bring the dawn of the day when the brightness of reason will clear up the darkness of ignorance and prejudice. Every one of us, patient, doctor, the public, can hasten the dawn of this bright day by knowing the facts of the disease and telling others about it. We can do more. We can embrace the opportunities to be humane which the disease offers us, and do our bit to humanize human life. For, rightly understood, leprosy work can be made the lever with which to raise the general social, economic and health level of society.

## WOMEN AND THE BEVERIDGE PLAN

RHONA GHATE

The Beveridge Plan has already become justly popular and lifted social thinking from the ennui of academic sluggishness. Not the least important feature of the Plan is the recognition it gives to the woman as a wage-earner and her consequent right to social security. Mrs. Rhona Ghate here examines the scheme in the light of the woman's special needs as a spinster, a wife, a mother and so on, and also with reference to her varying abilities to contribute towards insurance.

Mrs. Ghate taught economics in the Indraprastha Girls' College in Delhi for some years and is deeply interested in problems relating to women.

SIR William Beveridge's proposals for the reorganisation of social security affect women in two ways. First, women are affected in the same way as men, in their capacity as working citizens; and second, they are affected in their capacity as wives and mothers. In this second capacity they have quite distinct needs and are treated accordingly on a different basis from men. In both these spheres the Beveridge Plan makes far-reaching proposals, going much beyond anything in the present social services, and not the least of the results of the acceptance of the Plan would be a big step forward in the economic position of women.

*Summary of the Plan.*—Before referring in more detail to the provisions affecting women, it is necessary to give a brief sketch of the scheme as a whole. Its starting point is the aim of providing security of income; that is of making it unnecessary that anybody should ever be in want owing to the interruption or cessation of his or her earnings. "The aim is to make want in any circumstances unnecessary." This is the meaning of the phrase "social security." The main proposal for achieving this result is a scheme for compulsory insurance to protect everybody in the land irrespective of income, from the cessation of earning power due to unemployment, disablement, or old age, and also special expenditure necessitated by birth, marriage or death.

For the purposes of the insurance scheme the population is divided into six groups. These are :—

- |       |     |  |
|-------|-----|--|
| Group | I   | Employees.   |
| „     | II  | Others gainfully occupied, <i>i.e.</i> , independent workers such as farmers, shop-keepers, etc. |
| „     | III | Housewives.  |
| „     | IV  | Others of working age not gainfully occupied; <i>i.e.</i> , people with independent means.       |

- Group V Boys and girls below working age.  
 „ VI Old people above working age (normally 60 for women and 65 for men).

The needs of these groups vary, though some are common to all. All groups need medical treatment and rehabilitation in case of illness, and all are entitled to benefits for funeral expenses. Beyond that, needs are various. Group VI needs old-age pensions. Group V, young people, are provided for by means of children's allowances. Group I, wage-earners, need security against cessation of earnings due to unemployment or disability (*i.e.*, physical incapacity for work). Group II, independent workers, are not entitled to unemployment benefit since they cannot be unemployed in the strict sense. In place of this they are entitled to "training benefit", that is, a benefit for a certain period to enable them to train for some new occupation if their income declines. They are also entitled to disability benefit. Group IV is also entitled to training benefit in case of a loss of income, though not to unemployment or disability benefit. Group III, housewives, share in their husbands' unemployment or disability benefits and also receive various special benefits in virtue of the needs arising from marriage.

In suggesting the rates of benefit for these various contingencies Beveridge assumes that the cost of living after the war will have risen by 25 per cent as compared with 1938. He then considers the amounts necessary for subsistence on the basis of enquiries into living conditions which were made before the war in various parts of England. He concludes that 40/- a week will cover the needs of a married couple, allowing a small margin for extras and inefficient spending. This rate applies to unemployment and disability benefit and to pensions. The rate for a single man or woman is 24/- and the allowance for a dependent is 16/-. In calculating these figures it is assumed that there will be a universal system of children's allowances. Beveridge suggests an average of 8/- per child, to vary with age. A family with two children will therefore get 56/- as compared with the pre-war 33/- for unemployment and much less for sickness. These benefits will continue so long as the need lasts, and without means test. The only condition is that in the case of unemployment the receiver is prepared after a certain period to undergo training for a new occupation.

Finally, the Plan rests on three assumptions as to future social policy. These are : (1) that there will be children's allowances for all families (not only when they are receiving benefit); (2) that there will be a comprehensive reorganisation of the medical services, free to everybody; and (3) that there will not be mass unemployment on a scale comparable to the worst years of the inter-war period.

*Provisions Affecting Women in General.*—We can now consider in more detail the position of women under the Plan. As stated above, apart from the special provisions for housewives (Group III of the population groups) women are also affected by the general provisions, since there are women as well as men in all the other groups. As employees (Group I), independent workers (Group II), and "others of working age" (Group IV) they come into the insurance scheme on the same basis as men. The only difference between the sexes in these groups is that the weekly contribution rates are lower for women than for men. In Group I, for instance, the weekly contribution for a woman is  $\frac{3}{6}$ , compared with  $\frac{4}{3}$  for a man. The reason for this is that men's contributions as a whole cover the insurance of housewives, who do not contribute separately, and it is therefore only fair that men should pay more than single woman who will be drawing the single rate of benefit.

The question arose whether there should also be a differentiation between the sexes in the amount of benefits payable. As far as subsistence needs are concerned, the only difference relates to food. The (pre-war) cost of food for a woman per week is calculated at 6/-, whereas for a man it is 7/-. All the other items of the household budget are the same for a single woman as for a man. It is not worthwhile, therefore, to make a difference in benefit rates on this ground alone. The only argument Beveridge puts forward in favour of a substantial difference in benefit rates is that it would make possible a still greater difference in contribution rates, which might seem desirable in view of the fact that women's wages are generally considerably lower than men's. He comes to the conclusion, however, that it is not justifiable appreciably to lower the benefit rates for women as this would put them below the subsistence level. Moreover, it is probable that women's wages will approximate more closely to men's after the war than they have done previously. The conclusion is therefore that benefit rates should be the same for both sexes.

In Group VI, old people, single women are also treated in exactly the same way as men, except that the earliest retirement age for women is 60, whereas it is 65 for men. The pension for a single man or woman is 24/- and for a couple 40/- (the same rates as for unemployment). The pensions are retirement pensions, and if retirement is postponed after the minimum age nothing is paid until retirement does take place; but in order to encourage late retirement the pension finally payable is increased by 2/- for each year of postponement.

The effect of these provisions is that single women will have the same security as men and will be free to pursue their vocation without financial anxiety regarding ill-health or old age. The figure of the lonely spinster with

no means of support as old age approaches is at present too familiar, but if the Plan is adopted there will be no need for any woman to find herself in that unenviable position. Up till now men have also of course had to face insecurity, but for them there was no alternative, and they had to provide for it as best as they could. For women there was always the alternative of marriage, and there must be a number of marriages where one of the main motives in marrying on the woman's side was the avoidance of insecurity. Some of these would probably not take place if the lot of single women was improved as it would be under the Beveridge Plan.

Another consideration which has a bearing on the scheme is the fact that for the great majority of women paid work is only a temporary phase of their lives, an interlude before marriage. It undoubtedly means that most young women have a more casual attitude to their jobs than men. As far as the Plan is concerned this means that more women work intermittently than men; they will change between being dependents and employees for instance, or between Groups IV and I. Also more women change their professions than men, they may move about between Groups I and II. There will, of course, be conditions regarding the minimum number of contributions payable after entering any group before the insured person becomes eligible for the benefits of that group, and there should not be any great administrative difficulty about providing for such changes.

The Plan is also likely to have marked repercussions on various professions in which women are numerous. Doctors and Nurses, for instance, will be greatly affected if the proposals for a reorganisation of the medical services are adopted. Domestic servants would also be very much affected if domestic help is provided by the State to housewives in times of sickness, as the Plan suggests.

*Housewives.*—We now come to the proposal relating to housewives. This is one of the most interesting and revolutionary parts of the Report, since Beveridge starts out from the proposition that the housewife is not a dependent of her husband but an equal partner with special needs and claims of her own. Housewives are defined as "married women of working age living with their husbands".<sup>1</sup> When she marries, a woman acquires a new status under the scheme. She loses her right to unemployment and disability benefit in respect of contributions made before marriage, but in return, under a "Housewife's Policy", acquires a right to special benefits and grants in view of the special needs of a married woman. Some of the needs are common to all married women, some only to mothers, and some only arise in certain contingencies. The "marriage needs" as the Report calls them, are

<sup>1</sup> Section 316.,

as follows :—

(1) The need for help towards extra expenditure at the time of marriage. This is met by a grant of £1 on every forty contributions prior to marriage, up to a maximum of £10.

(2) The need for help at the time of childbirth. All married women will be entitled to a maternity grant of £4 as well as to medical attention and midwifery and nursing services. Women who are earning will also be entitled to maternity benefit for a period of thirteen weeks at 36/- a week. Maternity benefit is put at this generous figure (50% above the single unemployment rate) with the object of ensuring that every child shall be born under as healthy conditions as possible. For the same reason it is to apply to all married women who are earning, even if they are not separately contributing to the insurance scheme. The maternity grant, on the other hand, appears to be low. It is not intended to cover the whole cost of maternity, but even so, in view of the unavoidable expense which falls on the parents at that time it seems rather a niggardly amount. However, the most important item of expense at present is the cost of medical attention, and if all medical and nursing services are provided free, maternity will not present such a forbidding financial burden as it does at present.

(3) Need in case of a loss of the husband's earnings due to unemployment or disability. In this case the joint rate of benefit is paid and the wife is entitled to a share of it.

(4) Need in case of loss of the husband's earnings through retirement. Here, too, the joint rate of pension will be paid in order to cover the wife's as well as the husband's subsistence needs.

(5) *Sickness*.—The wife will not be entitled to disability benefit but will, all the same, receive free medical attention. She will also be provided with paid domestic help if she is sick and cannot attend to household duties. This is especially intended for cases where the wife has to go to hospital but has nobody to whom to hand over the care of her household. It is rather difficult to imagine how this proposal would work out in practice, unless the state is able to form a corps of highly trained responsible domestic servants capable of taking charge of many different kinds of household and of looking after children where necessary. Such a development would certainly raise the status of domestic service and make it an occupation more akin to nursing.

(6) *Need in Case of Widowhood*.—The plan proposes a fundamental change in the treatment of widows. Instead of the present small unconditional pension which takes no account of real needs, it suggests that there should be a very much higher pension when it is needed, but, on the other hand, takes the standpoint that there is no reason why a widow of working



age should not work, provided that she has no dependents. Accordingly a generous pension at the rate of 36/- a week (the same rate as maternity benefit) for a period of thirteen weeks is suggested, to cover the time when the widow will be readjusting herself to the new conditions. After this, if she has no dependent children, she will receive training benefit to enable her to train for some occupation. And then she will be expected to work and will be treated in the same way as a single woman, eligible for unemployment and disability benefit, etc., on the basis of her own contributions.

If the widow has dependent children, so that she cannot be expected to take full-time employment, the position is different. She will receive the usual children's allowances and also "guardian benefit" at the rate of 24/- a week for her own subsistence. If she takes up any employment this benefit will be subject to a reduction by a proportion of the amount of her earnings.

Beveridge says that a number of witnesses to the Committee raised objections to the proposals regarding widows on the ground that if a woman becomes a widow late in life but before she is entitled to old age pension (say at the age of fifty), it will be very difficult for her to adapt herself to paid work. He comes to the conclusion, however, that, though there may be cases of hardship in such circumstances, these should be dealt with by Assistance<sup>2</sup>, and that no modification of the insurance scheme is called for. He also points out that in many cases husbands will have provided against such a contingency by voluntary insurance.

(7) The last contingency connected with marriage is need in case of divorce, separation or desertion. The Report suggests tentatively that where the wife loses the maintenance to which she is entitled from her husband through no fault of her own, she is entitled to get temporary separation benefit (on the same lines as widow's benefit) and guardian or training benefit, where appropriate.

*Housewives who do Paid Work.*—So far we have been considering mainly the housewife who does no outside paid work. The great majority of women do in fact give up their occupation on marriage. The proportion of working married women to all married women before the war was less than 1 in 8. Of course, it has risen greatly during the war and probably will remain even in peace-time higher than before.

The question arises as to how a working married woman should be related to the insurance scheme. Broadly the Plan takes the view-point that she should be allowed to choose whether she will (a) pay the full rate of contribution on her own account, or (b) apply for exemption from contributing.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., help given according to the need of each particular case and not as part of the insurance scheme.

If she chooses (b), she will be treated as an ordinary housewife, except that she will be entitled to maternity benefit. If she chooses (a), she will get maternity benefit and will also be entitled to unemployment and disability benefit but at a reduced rate—16/- a week. She will also be entitled to a pension on her own retirement after the age of 60, irrespective of her husband's age or occupation.

The reason for putting unemployment and disability benefit for earning housewives at a lower rate than that for men and single women is that since the husband will be either earning or on benefit, there is no necessity of covering the whole of her subsistence needs. In particular, she will not have to pay for rent. It is also argued that, since maternity benefit is at a rate 50% higher than the ordinary unemployment rate, it is fair that this should be compensated by a reduced rate elsewhere for working married women.

In practice it seems probable that most working married women will take the former alternative and apply for exemption from contributing. For one thing they are unlikely to take into account the prospect of an old-age pension, as very few women work throughout their married lives. Moreover, they will receive maternity benefit, which is the most attractive benefit, whether they contribute or not. The low rate of unemployment and disability benefit is unlikely to be enough to persuade them to contribute, since they will have to do so, if at all, at the full rate. It is arguable, therefore, that married women should either be offered some extra inducement to contribute—perhaps a higher rate of maternity benefit—or that all married women should be exempt.

There are no special provisions for part-time work. Presumably a married woman who does part time work will be treated as though she was on full-time work, i.e., she will have the option of contributing to the insurance scheme or being exempt.

There is also no mention of whether the husband will be paid the joint rate of benefit for unemployment or disability in cases where the wife is earning. If she is not contributing, it seems fair that the joint rate should be paid. To pay the single rate would be equivalent to a means test. If she is contributing it may be argued that the husband should receive only the single rate, since he should be regarded as being insured only against his own unemployment or disability, but, on the other hand, if this practice were adopted, it would act as a further deterrent on the wife's contributing, and she would almost certainly prefer to be exempt.

*Conclusion.*—From what has been said above it is clear that the economic position of women, both as working citizens and as housewives, would be greatly improved by the adoption of the Beveridge Plan. .

As regards the treatment of women as working citizens, they are put for the first time on a basis of complete equality with men. This development is only the consummation of a change which has been going on for a long time. Another part of the same question is the struggle for equal pay for equal work, the achievement of which is being hastened by the war. As regards social security, the recognition of women workers goes back to the National Insurance Act of 1911, which introduced compulsory insurance for sickness and unemployment. The Act applied to both sexes, but the rates of benefit were lower for women than for men (18/- weekly for unemployment and 15/- for sickness, as compared with the men's rates of 20/- for unemployment and 18/- for sickness). The Beveridge Plan, on the other hand, proposes identical rates of benefit for men and women (24/- weekly for a single person and 40/- for a married couple).

In another way the change of attitude to women workers is exemplified by the treatment of widows. As explained above, the present practice (under the Contributory Pensions Act of 1925) of giving a small unconditional pension for an indefinite period is discontinued in the case of widows, who have no dependent children, on the ground that women who have no family ties should not be expected to remain idle any more than a single man would be. Instead, the Plan proposes a generous benefit for the first few months of widowhood, followed by an opportunity to train for some paid occupation. After this the widow is expected to earn her own living. The attitude is thus taken that while women as citizens should have equal privileges with men they should also be under equal obligations.

While the treatment of women workers under the Plan is only the logical conclusion of a change of attitude which has been going on for many years, the treatment of women as housewives is something entirely new. The present unemployment insurance scheme recognizes housewives as dependents of their husbands, in respect of whom the rate of benefit is increased from 20/- to 30/- a week, but that is all. The Present Health Insurance Scheme does not recognize housewives at all, except at the time of maternity, when a grant of £2 is given, with an extra £2 if the wife is gainfully occupied. Against this background the Beveridge Plan introduces the recognition of the housewife as an equal partner who does a job as essential as her husband's. "The great majority of married women must be regarded as occupied on work which is vital though unpaid, without which their husbands could not do their paid work and without which the nation could not continue. In accord with facts, the Plan for Social Security treats married women as a special insurance class of occupied persons and treats man and wife as a team. It treats a man's contributions as made on behalf of himself and his

wife, as for a team, each of whose partners is equally essential, and it gives benefit as for the team.”<sup>3</sup>

This new attitude towards the housewife is no doubt due, in part, to the significance which the population question has assumed in recent years. The urgency of increasing the birth rate in England is now generally recognised, and the housewife as a potential mother is acquiring a new importance. The stress which the Report lays on provision for maternity is therefore likely to be easily accepted, as is also the principle of children's allowances. As Beveridge says, the fact of a declining population “makes it imperative to give first place in social expenditure to the care of childhood and to the safeguarding of maternity.”<sup>4</sup> He claims in fact that his Plan puts a premium on marriage in place of penalizing it by recognising the position of married women both in form and in substance.

<sup>3</sup> Section 107 of the Report.

<sup>4</sup> Section 15.

## THE INDIAN ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES : A PLEA

KEWAL MOTWANI

In view of the "increasing realization of the need for scientific training in social service which, by its very nature, must involve a thorough grounding in the principles of the Science of Society", the writer makes a plea in this article for the institution of an Academy of Social Sciences for co-ordinating and canalizing social studies and researches in India on national lines.

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*The Problem.*—We are living in a harassed world. One thought dominates the human race, and that is war, as one ambition motivates all its action, and that is victory. Yet there are many who look into the future with serious misgivings, whatever the peace might bring. For, the issues involved in the present war are not victory versus defeat, Christian democracy and peace as against dictatorship, but yesterday versus tomorrow, an age that is out of joint with the time-spirit and must make an exit even to the accompaniment of world-wide carnage and destruction versus the new dawn that portends peace and harmony between individuals, groups and nations.

Shall this new world of tomorrow take birth after the din of war has died away, or shall mankind continue to be racked by the conflict and ideology of strife of today, battered and broken, with no hope of a normal, human life ? Shall that world emerge in which man is no longer an outcast or a stranger, but a fellow-pilgrim with all that lives, or shall mankind pass once again into the unending night of barbarism, hammered and hardened into its present mood of ruthlessness and destruction, cruelty and sadism, by the mechanical frankenstein that it has created ? Shall man sink lower than the wild beast, or shall he turn his hand, head and heart to the gentler art of a wholesome, human life, with the whole world as one co-operative, cultural, interdependent unit ? That is the problem.

The present crisis in human history has been precipitated into being by the anti-social use of science and machine in the West. But the crisis is no longer confined to the region of its origin ; it has engulfed the whole human race, since these twin-brothers of to-day have annihilated space and time and made distant nations as next-door neighbours. India has also been affected by science and machine. They have put her on the highway of world's cultural commerce. Nay, they have made her a part of the world, physically, economically and culturally. The barriers which kept India within the

high walls of isolation have broken down and India is on the march once again.

*India : A Synthesis of Cultures.*—But science and machine have combined to work an internal change in India also. They have thrown her entire culture-complex into the melting pot, and her economic, social, political, educational institutions, religious and spiritual values, customs, traditions and beliefs are being challenged. The accretions of the ages are beginning to burn in the crucible. To change the metaphor, the confronting of two cultures, indigenous and alien, on the soil of India has produced, as it must, a considerable amount of social disorganisation that follows in the wake of such contacts, whether the units involved be individuals or nations. An emigrant to another country experiences a certain amount of personal inconvenience when he comes face to face with a group of people whose customs, habits and beliefs are different from those of his people. He must adjust himself intelligently and consciously and thus become a useful member of the community of his adoption, or else he will collapse, become a maladjusted individual, and therefore a liability. The same law applies to nations and cultures. India must either assimilate the contributions of science and machine coming to her from the West and use them intelligently and in terms of her national ethos and experience, or go under. As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru rightly remarks in his *Autobiography*, "The real struggle today in India is not between Hindu and Muslim culture, but between these two and the conquering scientific culture of modern civilisation" (page 470).

Sociologically speaking, India's recent history is a record of this assimilative process at work. Numerous organisations have been unconsciously engaged in resolving this clash of cultures in our country; India's various leaders, reformers, thinkers, educators and statesmen have attempted to sense the problem and concentrate our attention on it, though there has been no clear conception of the gravity of the situation, of the tremendous issues involved, or adequate knowledge of techniques with the help of which the social and cultural changes in India may be properly controlled. Indeed, such an awakening is of recent date even in the West, where the triumphant progress of science, man's impressive conquest of nature, the sudden prosperity following the emergence of industrial revolution, and the Darwinian theory of steady evolution of better species, have only recently received a challenge on the vast battle-fields of Europe, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific in both directions. Thus, with the wisdom of ages behind her and with the picture of the mechanised West in despair and desolation in front of her, India should naturally return to herself and seek to solve the problem with which man has always been confronted since he ascended from the sub-human species, the

problem of human, wholesome life, not in some far-off future and in a heavenly world, but now and on this earth below. But, for India, it is a familiar problem; a careful reading of her hoary history reveals the one purpose to which she has been dedicated, the Bharata Dharma, synthesis of races, religions and cultures on her sacred soil.

*The Field of Indian National Culture.*—This reconstruction of India's entire life in terms of her cultural heritage and the contributions of machine and science is a problem of stupendous proportions, one that must involve a comprehensive knowledge of the entire gamut of her experience which we call Indian culture. It demands a clear grasp of those underlying social processes that have eventually incarnated into those two culture-patterns, the Indian and the Western, since we can know ourselves better by contrast. In order to accomplish this, we shall have to begin with the study of the relationship between the organic and the inorganic environments and their relationship to, and effects on, man and his social life. Next will come the history of these two culture groups, their ways of thinking and acting, their folkways and mores. We shall then have to close in and concentrate our attention on man, his original nature, his biological endowments, the human nature acquired through processes of interaction between him and his society, on the development of his social attitudes and ideas, on the process of competition, conflict, accommodation and assimilation into the social order, on the mechanisms of social control by means of which society checks the centrifugal tendencies of its members, on the collective behaviour of people, men in mass. The problems of population in their quantitative and qualitative aspects, the standard of living are also significant aspects of social reality. The techniques of propaganda and the formation of public opinion will form other branches of study. Social mobility, both horizontal and vertical, that is, from one calling to another and along the sliding scale of social hierarchy, will give us a clue to the dynamics of the social order. The major social institutions, such as education, marriage, family, economic and political structure, religion, arts, sciences, their evolution and adaptation to the changing social order, and their maladjustment or crystallisation, will give us an idea of the direction in which the social life of the people is moving. A vital part of the study will be the two types of communities, the rural and the urban, their effects on human personality and the trend of civilisation. Another important branch of study will be that of cultural change, evolutionary and sudden, the anatomy of revolution, the problem of social disorganisation, the techniques of social repairs and reconstruction. Finally, we shall have to face the problem of values and find out whether there is such a process as social progress, consciously willed, planned and executed, or whether human

life must drift along like a derelict on an uncharted sea.<sup>1</sup>

*Indian National Planning Committee.*—It should be a matter of great satisfaction to us that some of our leaders, endowed with world vision and a keen appreciation of the trends of the present civilisation, have given serious thought to the problem of planning India's national life. The word 'planning' gained great currency after the last war. We are all acquainted with German Nazism, Italian Fascism, the Swedish Middle Way, the Soviet Five Year Plans, the American New Deal, etc. The above-mentioned countries were in need of schemes to rebuild their lives after they had recovered from the shattering effects of the last war. In our country, the Indian National Congress appointed a National Planning Committee under the chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This Committee was divided into twenty-nine Sub-Committees, each devoted to one aspect of our national life. The personnel of these Sub-Committees was drawn from universities, numerous scientific, academic and commercial organisations and specialised groups. A few Sub-Committees have submitted their reports, but the Planning Committee as a whole is more or less in *paralaya* as a result of the incarceration of its moving spirits.

Now, there are two points about the National Planning Committee which deserve particular attention. First, the purpose for which our National Planning Committee was called into being is different from that of some of the Plans of the European countries. As recent events have shown, the latter were dedicated to subordination of the individual to the State and to preparation for the present war. Our national Plan has no such ambitions. It is inspired by the ideal of bringing India into line with the world, of covering the cultural lag which impedes her footsteps as a result of her political subordination for the last one hundred and fifty years. Second, while our National Planning Committee envisages the reconstruction of India's entire life, it is not clearly stated that any specific attention shall be paid to the checking of the anti-social uses of sciences and machinery that have made a shambles of the world. This should be one of the major considerations

<sup>1</sup> Most of the leading American universities and other institutions of higher learning cover the field of cultural studies indicated above, and offer instruction in Human Ecology. Cultural and Social Anthropology; Social Biology; Man in Society; Social Attitudes; Social Differentiation; Social Mobility; Social Psychology; Social Processes; Means of Social Control; Propaganda; Public Opinion; Collective Behaviour; Educational Sociology; Sociology of Marriage; of Family; of Divorce; Population Problems; Race Problems; Sociology of Economic Relations; Political Sociology; Criminology; Penology; Sociology of Religion; Sociology of Arts; Rural Sociology; Urban Sociology; Social Change; Social Organisation; Social Case Work; Social Administration; Social Progress; Social Thought in Ancient Civilisations; in Europe; in America.



in the replanning of India's life.

*Sub-Committee on "Science and Social Relations".*—But the organisation that has undertaken to give specific attention to this problem of the impact of science on Indian Society is the Indian Science Congress. Following the example of the International Council of Scientific Unions, located in Holland, and the British and the American Associations for the Advancement of Science, the Indian Science Congress brought into being a Sub-Committee on Science and Social Relations at its annual session held at Lahore in January, 1939. It outlined the aims and objects of this Sub-Committee to be : (a) to suggest to the Executive Committee topics for joint discussions and lectures, etc., relating to the influence of science on India ; (b) to formulate proposals for collecting data and taking necessary steps to put into effect such proposals under the authority of the Executive Committee relating to the effects of science on society in India and to matters incidental thereto. The Sub-Committee took definite shape at the Benares session of the Congress in January, 1941. The work of focussing the attention of our country on the social implications of science is still in its initial stages, and it cannot but be so, since the problem is of vast dimensions, but it is very encouraging that the premier scientific institution of our country is vitally alive to the significance of this impact on our national life.

*Status of Sociology in Indian Universities.*—In the normal course of things, it should have been the Indian universities that should have taken a lead in this matter. We should not have waited to be awakened to this impact of science on society by outside agencies. This is because "The Indian Universities suffer from the want of root. They are mere cuttings struck down in an uncongenial soil and kept alive with difficulty by the constant watering of a paternal government. When an Indian student is bidden to study Philosophy, he should not be forced to try and accommodate his mind to the unfamiliar forms of European speculation, but should be encouraged to work on the lines laid down by the great thinkers of his own country, who may justly claim equality with Plato, Aristotle and Kant. The lectures and examinations in Philosophy for the students of an Indian University should be primarily on Indian Ethics and Metaphysics, the European systems being taught only for the sake of contrast and illustration. So far as I know, the courses prescribed by the Indian Universities are not on these lines. It is useless to ask an Indian University to reform itself, because it does not possess the power. Some day, perhaps, the man in power will arise who is not hide-bound by the University traditions of his youth, who will perceive that an Indian University deserving of the name must devote itself to the development of Indian thought and learning, and who will care enough for true

higher education to establish a 'real University in India.'<sup>2</sup> These are not the words of a political fire-brand, but of an English historian of India who was not overflowing with love for our people. The atmosphere of artificiality and unreality that surrounds our universities is due to the fact that they pay no attention to the vital problems of the social and cultural life of the people. But they are beginning to show some signs of awakening to this need now. They are all trying to find a place for Sociology, the science of society, in their syllabuses. Sociology is as old as man, since man has always been confronted with the problem of living in a society. Sociology envisages the pragmatic and all-inclusive approach to social life, as outlined above. Indian in origin, it is, as we know to-day, an American science, since America has become the seat of the new civilisation and the nursery of the new race, where science has reached its apex and where changes in every aspect of social life take place with lightning rapidity. Unfortunately for our country, we have followed the educational patterns presented to us by our rulers, and consequently Sociology has never found favour with our institutions of higher learning.

But they are waking up now, at long last, after all the enormous amount of correspondence, distribution of books by the hundred and reprints of articles published in scientific journals and pamphlets by the thousand, tours throughout the country, lectures before university groups, discussions with professors, appeals to leaders and educators to plead for the introduction of Sociology in the University syllabuses. Thanks to Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, an ex-Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University and President of the Inter-University Board of India, the Board passed a resolution, recommending our universities to introduce this subject, at its meeting held in January 1942 at Annamalai University. The Sub-Committees of Science and Social Relations conducted a survey during 1942 to find out what action was being taken on the resolution of the Inter-University Board. The result makes interesting reading.

The Universities of Agra, Allahabad, Delhi, Nagpur and Travancore have referred the matter to their appropriate academic bodies for report. The Andhra University introduced the subject in 1923 and the syllabus has been revised for introduction in 1944. But there is no provision in the University for instruction in the subject. The University of Bombay started a School of Economics and Sociology in 1922, and Sociology has been offered for M.A. and Ph.D., but strangely enough without any undergraduate preparation in the subject! The question of introducing Sociology as an optional for B.A., was

<sup>2</sup> A. Vincent Smith, quoted by Anilbaran Roy, in *Sri Aurobindo: Some Views of International Problems*.

raised by the Academic Council in 1940 and the matter referred to a Committee. So far, no report has been received from the Committee. In the Calcutta University Sociology forms part of M.A. course in Economics. The University authorities do not propose to put into operation the resolution of the Inter-University Board, in regard to the introduction of the subject as an undergraduate subject. Dacca has introduced the subject already. In the University of Lucknow Sociology is included in the curriculum of the Department of Economics, and the Elements of Sociology are taught in the undergraduate stages. There is also one compulsory paper in Sociology for M.A. students in this Department. The University of Mysore introduced the subject in 1923, and offers it as a subsidiary for B.A. with three papers. The Osmania University introduced Sociology in the Intermediate classes in 1923, and now offers it for B.A. and M.A. as well. In Patna, the subject was recommended for adoption by the Re-organisation Committee a few years ago. The matter will be considered when the reorganisation scheme is taken up as a whole, which will be after the war is over. The Annamalai and Punjab Universities plead paucity of funds, while the Aligarh and Madras Universities have not supplied any information.

This is not a bad beginning, though much remains to be done. There is still no appreciation of the issues at stake, no clear grasp of the contents of the subject, no uniformity of curriculum offered by the various institutions. Instructors with appropriate academic training in the subject can be counted on the fingers of one hand. There is no organisation to link them together and give an edge to their work. There is a general impression that Sociology is just another subject to be taught from texts in a class-room. But Sociology is much more dynamic than that. The student lives in a social milieu, he is affected by his environments all the time. He meets with his frustration or fulfilment there, and his search for solution of the problems, personal and social, gives birth to the Science of Sociology. Sociology is not a mere discipline to sharpen our intellectual tools; it is a training in character-building to be made use of for the service of the nation.

There are numerous aspects of this problem, such as defining the contents of Sociology, outlining syllabuses for intermediate, B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees, drawing up bibliographies and preparing texts suitable for Indian students, providing practical training in the techniques of social research, fixing qualifications for instructors competent to teach the subject in the under-graduate and post-graduate departments of the universities, urging the introduction of the subject on all the universities, including the embryonic ones of Assam, Maharashtra, North West Frontier Province, Orissa and Sind, prodding the departments of public instruction in all the Provinces

and the leading States to give an increasing social bias to secondary and primary education, and, finally, establishing contacts with bodies engaged in similar tasks in other parts of the world where great advances have been made in this respect. These tasks can only be shouldered by an organisation, preferably of all-India character. A Sociological Society of India would be an appropriate body to deal with them. Such a body is still in the womb of the future.

*Government of India : Central Advisory Board of Education.*—But it is not that we have to present only a theoretical knowledge of sociological principles to our younger generation. That knowledge has to be applied to the problems of daily life, and evidences of the appreciation of the need of scientific training in the techniques of social welfare and service come to us from quite a different quarter. On October 15th, 1936, the late Sir Francis Younghusband, an ex-President of the British Sociological Society and Chairman of the Indian Village Welfare Association, Westminster, London, organised a meeting of these and similar Associations. The discussion at the meeting "indicated a very wide-spread appreciation of the urgent need for promoting wider and more practical facilities for study and training in the problems of public administration, especially in relation to social services." Another meeting was called on February 9th, 1937, and Mr. C. M. Lloyd and Miss Eckhard of the London School of Economics and Politics, took part in the subsequent discussions and deliberations. In his memorandum to the Department of Education, Government of India, Sir Francis Younghusband wrote: "We realise that what has been accomplished successfully by this institution (the London School) in the United Kingdom may not be altogether suited to Indian conditions; at the same time, it was felt widely here, that something on similar lines and in a manner suited to Indian requirements is an urgent and imperative need. . . . The opinion was therefore expressed that Delhi would be the most appropriate centre, and that participation by the University of Delhi would be a most suitable contribution to be made by that University in the direction of specialised study and research."

• No action seems to have been taken on this memorandum till the Honourable Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai resurrected it from the archives of the Government of India Secretariat on the assumption of office as the Education Member of the Viceroy's Cabinet on April 1st, 1940. He placed this memorandum before the Central Advisory Board of Education at the first meeting at which he presided in May 1940. The Board appointed a Committee, presided over by the Honourable Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Delhi, which submitted its report at the January 1941

meeting of the Central Advisory Board, recommending the starting of an All-India Council of Social Services, with an institute of research and practical training at the Central Government.

At its meeting held in January 1942 the matter was brought up for further discussion. From the information supplied by the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, we gather: "The Board reviewed the reports of the Provincial Governments, Local Administrations, State Governments and Universities in India, with regard to the recommendations of the Social Service and Public Administration Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education, as adopted by the Board at their last meeting, and the further information supplied in respect of the work undertaken by voluntary agencies of an All-India character in their areas. While hoping that their recommendations would be implemented, wherever possible, even in the present circumstances, the Board recognised that it might not be feasible in the immediate future to set up the proposed Central Body to be called the All-India Council of Social Services, with an institute for research under its control. The Board suggested, however, that in each province and other large administrative areas, every effort should be made without delay to stimulate and co-ordinate the work of the various Social Service Agencies, both voluntary and official, and arrange for the training of Social Service Workers of all grades. It was also decided that the Central Bureau should continue to collect from Provincial Governments and Voluntary Agencies of All-India character detailed information regarding:—(i) existing agencies for social service in their areas, including universities; (ii) the scope of their activities; (iii) their relation to one another and the means adopted to co-ordinate their work, and to submit it to the annual meetings of the Board."

It will be a poor consolation to Sir Francis Younghusband, now on the other side, to know that his plan for a research and a training institute in social services and public administration for the country he loved so well, has ended in being a mere departmental bureau for the collection of information from the various agencies in the country! It is also a far cry from the fine sentiments expressed by H. E. the Viceroy in the opening address of the Jubilee session of the Indian Science Congress in January, 1938. He said: "It is not for me to remind you that India is in a transitional stage, and that she is on the threshold of a new era. With the march of years there has come the impact of the West, and India today is engaged in the welding on to her old structures of the newer political and economic forms of the West, on the finding in her intellectual life a place for the discoveries of science with all their challenge to accepted modes of thought and practice. Even the

most enthusiastic believer in western civilisation must feel today a certain despondency at the apparent failure of the West to dominate its scientific discoveries and to evolve a form of society in which material progress and spiritual freedom march comfortably together. Perhaps, the West will find in India's more general emphasis on the simplicity and the ultimate spirituality of things a more positive example of the truths which the most advanced thinkers in the West are now discovering. Is it too much to hope that you, gentlemen, will be the channel through which India will make in an increasing degree that contribution to western and world thought which those of us who know and love India are confident that she can make in so full a degree?"

It is a long, long way from the present action of the Central Advisory Board of Education to the fulfilment of these aspirations expressed by Sir Francis Younghusband and Lord Linlithgow. But that is a matter that concerns the Board, our legislators and public men. What interests us here is the increasing realisation of the need for scientific training in social service which, by its very nature, must involve a thorough grounding in the principles of the science of society. Further, even if the Central Institute of Social Research, envisaged by the Gwyer Committee, were called into being, its major problem will be its philosophy of action, its line of approach to the problem it sets out to solve. Social service cannot be left to the experimental devices of private agencies; it is a scientific technique that gives aid in the social repairs of a nation in terms of her experience and the world forces playing around her. It is too much to expect private agencies and organisations to conduct social service on scientific lines, much less to appreciate the full significance of Sir Francis Younghusband's attempts or of the utterance of the Viceroy. We need Social Science Research Institutes and Schools of Social Work conducted on scientific lines to keep reminding us of the fundamental problem facing us, so that all our plans and schemes of social reconstruction may not be out-of-date before they are even conceived.

*Learned Societies in India.*—There are also in our country various Learned Societies devoted to different segments of social reality. Some of these Societies are :—1. The Indian Philosophical Congress. 2. The Indian Historical Congress. 3. The Indian Psychological Association. 4. The Indian Anthropological Association. 5. The Indian Political Science Association. 6. The Indian Economics Association. 7. The Indian Geographical Association. 8. The Indian Statistical Association.

Perhaps, there are some other similar organisations, engaged in problems of social study and research. The present arrangement is far from satisfactory. The scholars, attending sessions of one Society in one

part of the country, have to rush to another part to attend the sessions of another Society, read a paper and attend to its administrative work. The members of these Societies, meeting at different times and places, do not come together, exchange views and thus develop an integrated, synthetic approach to the problems of national life. Thus, quite unconsciously, India's social scientists perpetuate the most dangerous tradition of European education and thought, which is emphasis on particularistic points of view. The votaries of various social sciences develop academic insularities and think that the solution of all the ills from which mankind suffers lies within the ambit of their specialised fields of knowledge. Consequently, there is no coordination of the various social sciences in the universities, no synthetic approach to the problem facing our country, no broad outlook among the social scientists themselves. Intellectual isolations tend to become firmly entrenched within the institutions of higher learning where the votary of each social science considers his neighbour a competitor and an interloper. There is thus an atmosphere of artificiality and unreality about the study of social sciences in our universities, since they cannot claim to deal with life as a whole, while the Learned Societies carry over these attitudes into the larger arena of national life.

*Need for an Indian National Academy of Social Sciences.*—This, then, is a rough picture of the situation with regard to social studies as it prevails in our country today. We have organisations and institutions, but they lack coordination and a clear perception of the problem facing India, which is the planning of the process of assimilating the contributions of the culture of machine and science coming to her from the West. India is the scene of the clash of cultures today, but she is also to be the shrine of synthesis of cultures tomorrow. This, as I see it, is the meaning and purpose of national planning in India. She is equipped with appropriate organisations which can be yoked to the service of the problem facing her; she is now attempting to find a place for Sociology and social studies in her educational institutions, and is beginning to be alive to the necessity of giving her young students practical training in the scientific techniques of social reconstruction. But we need to define our problem sharply so as to give a direction to all our efforts, and our various learned sections must be brought together, so that they can pool their resources of scholarship and research, without sacrificing their individuality and independence, undertake an exhaustive survey of India's cultural ideals, present an integrated picture of her resources, human and natural, as well as of the world forces playing around her, and point out the path of national reconstruction. Such a stupendous task could only be undertaken by an Indian National Academy of Social Sciences which could

synthesize the labours of the students of history, human geography, biology, anthropology, psychology, political science, statistics, economics, philosophy and sociology. The National Planning Committee, working under the auspices of the Indian National Congress, will one day complete its labours and disperse. The Sub-Committee of Science and Social Relations of the Indian Science Congress, composed of a few specialists whose chief occupation is research in exact sciences, could only scratch the surface of the problem with its finger-nails, while the votaries of social sciences are doing the same, at least are expected to 'do' so, with steam-shovels. A National Academy of Social Sciences would be a National Planning Commission in permanent session. It would be the fore-runner and inspirer of the future Schools of Social Sciences in our Indian Universities ! \*

Having been dedicated to the study of Social Sciences for over a quarter of a century, both in India and America, and having watched the situation for many years, if the reader will forgive this personal and immodest reminiscence, I came to the conclusion that the time for starting such an Academy had arrived; at least nothing would be lost in sounding public opinion. With this aim in view, I made a tour of India in the early part of 1941, visited several universities and discussed the matter with various friends and leaders, and I found all of them favourably disposed. All the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities, excepting one, favoured the idea. The General Secretaries of the various Learned Societies and various educators and leaders were also approached to express their opinion, and it is a matter for genuine gratification that the scheme met with unanimous approval. Some friends and high officials in the Government of Sind even undertook to invite the first session of the Academy to Karachi, if it were actually brought into being. But the approach of war to the Near East in 1941 pushed the plans into oblivion for the time being.

But some interest was shown in this matter at the 1942 session of the Indian Science Congress, at Baroda, and the author felt encouraged to place the matter before the Sub-Committee for its endorsement. Professor D. N. Wadia, the President of the Indian Science Congress, also favoured the scheme generally. During the course of the year, I thought that perhaps it might be worth while to place the scheme before Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President-elect of the Indian Science Congress for 1943, and invite his opinion. With this aim in view, the author took a trip to Wardha and met Panditji in

\* A plan for a similar institution was first conceived in America by Professor Benjamin Peirce, of Harvard, in 1878. In 1886, Professor Carrol D. Wright, President of the American Social Science Association, made a plea for the teaching of social sciences not only in colleges, but in high schools, in upper grammar schools, and even in Sunday schools, India is ages behind in the realisation of such a dream.



the early part of July. The scheme was discussed from various angles and he also endorsed it. Before his arrest, he wrote to the President and the General Secretary of the Indian Science Congress and recommended the appointment of a Committee of Experts to explore the possibilities for bringing such an Academy into being. The matter was submitted, with the assent of the members of the Sub-Committee on Science and Social Relations, to the Indian Science Congress at its Calcutta session in January, 1943, and Professor D. N. Wadia, the President, in Pandit Nehru's absence, in recommending the scheme to the Congress for its adoption, made the following observations : "It is too early to outline the exact task to which the Academy will address itself. Its chief function will be to explore those avenues through which the contributions of science may be adapted to the life of the individual and the nation without allowing any anti-social applications of science such as have made a shambles of so many countries, ever raising their heads in our midst. Secondly, the Academy will emphasise an integrated, synthetic approach to every problem, pressing into service the contributions of various basic social sciences such as human geography, anthropology, biology, psychology, economics, political science, statistics, philosophy and sociology. The bringing into being of a National Academy so constituted may well become a crowning achievement of the Indian Science Congress." The Sub-Committee on Science and Social Relations considered the scheme and passed a favourable resolution in 1943, leaving the initiative to the votaries of Social Sciences.

But the endorsement of this scheme comes from quite a different direction. Mr. H. G. Wells, with his keen and sympathetic mind, has sensed the problem that confronts India, and his remarks, contained in his recent book, are well worth quoting. He says : "A culture which said, 'we are ignorant and divided and condemned to a collective sterility by our ignorance, but we mean to reorganize our mental energy and stock our minds to play our part in human history' would be a culture to respect. But even the Bramo Samaj, most liberal of Indian cultures (?) does not say that. It is universalist religiously, but is not acutely educational. In India there are numerous rich men, great industrialists, wealthy Maharajas and the like, but it has still to dawn on any of them that a great, growing, liberating mass of knowledge exists in the world beyond the present reach of any Indian, and that there must be scores and hundreds of thousands of fine brains which need only educational emancipation and opportunity, laboratories, colleges, publication facilities, discussion with the rest of the world, to add a continually increasing Indian contribution to the ever-learning, ever-growing World Brain. In India now there must be a score of potential, unrealized Royal Societies, so to speak, running about in loin cloths and significant turbans

and Gandhi caps and what not, running about at that lowly partisan level, and so running to waste''.<sup>4</sup>

Every well-wisher of India must sooner or later become aware of the vital urgency of India's waking up to her destiny of becoming the spiritual leader of the world. For constant seems to be the refrain, among gods and men : "If India dies, who lives ? If India lives, who dies ?" Who shall answer ? That is the problem now.

It is not unlikely that some of our countrymen will question the wisdom of starting such an Academy during the present world crisis and India's preoccupation with the war effort. But it must be replied that far greater things are being done during the war. The Indian National Congress has asked for a National Government and a Declaration of India's Independence during the war ; Mr. Wendell Wilkie, an eminent American statesman, is insisting on formulation of policies and programmes for adjustment of international problems during the war ; even the British Government feels forced to revise its colonial policies during the war ; Chinese scholars moved their universities on mule-backs into the hinter-land and rebuilt them, also during the war. Ever so many things of far-reaching consequences are being done now, and the need of bringing into being an Indian Academy of Social Sciences is equally urgent, since the tempo of industrialisation in India has been phenomenally accelerated and the social changes after the war will indeed be cataclysmic. India must be prepared to face the problem when it rises. She must not be caught napping. The method of India's adjustment to the new environment has a world-wide significance ; for, let us not forget, the contrast is not between the East and the West, but between India and the rest of the world.

<sup>4</sup> Wells, H. G., *The Outlook for Homo Sapiens*, 1943, p. 142.

## A PLAN FOR A NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ADULT EDUCATION

B. H. MEHTA

The extent of illiteracy in India is appalling and yet no adequate and systematic drive is made to liquidate this problem; nor is there an understanding of the scope and aims of adult education. "The be-all and end-all of adult education," says Dr. Mehta, "is not merely literacy—that is the capacity to read and write—but it is more comprehensive and includes the development of intelligence, skill and efficiency, a capacity for the proper utilization of leisure and literacy." The writer adumbrates a scheme for an Institute of Adult Education in India and suggests the carrying out of the programme of adult education through various types of leadership.

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IT has been universally recognised that adult education is one of the most important factors of national reconstruction. It is only after 1920, that is, after the political awakening of India, that the need of literacy and adult education came to be recognized by the government as well as the political leaders and the social reformers of the country. The recognition of the need, however, has been accompanied by slow, sporadic and unplanned activity. The Congress Government initiated a plan of action which was more extensive than systematic, and all the details of such a vast problem were hardly thought out. Mere literacy was attempted, and that too without trained personnel adequate for the purpose. The motives of the efforts cannot be belittled but the problem has been handled for a comparatively brief period, and therefore the inefficiency of the methods and plans can be easily understood.

Unfortunately, the problem of adult education has not received the serious thought and careful planning which it deserves of the university men, educationists and psychologists. The recent action of the government appears to be more the result of pressure of public opinion and a desire to keep the ball rolling, rather than a deep and genuine realisation of the need to bring light and learning to the masses of such a vast country like India. Adult education, like all other vital problems of the country, has been pushed into the background by the usual pretext of "war exigencies". Even if the conditions created by the war do not permit an intensification of effort, adult education should be immediately regarded as one of the most vital post-war problems demanding the attention and active interest of every well-wisher of the country. Those who realise the importance, urgency and complexity of the problem should think and plan now for the future, and, if possible, create the necessary means and machinery to tackle the problem.

*The Adult Education Movement.*—To begin with, the Adult Education Movement must have clear and well defined aims or objectives. Today man lives in a highly complex society where the work-life requires skill and efficiency to obtain the maximum of food supply, and where social and political functions of human life requires an intelligence which is capable of quick grasp and understanding of intricate problems. Success in human life means the capacity to understand, adapt and adjust oneself successfully not only to his physical surroundings but also to his social environment. Every normal human being should be able to achieve this end independently without relying upon the assistance and judgment of others. Evidently therefore the be-all and end-all of adult education is not merely literacy—that is, the capacity to read and write—but it is more comprehensive and includes the development of intelligence, skill and efficiency, a capacity for the proper utilisation of leisure and literacy. An Adult Education Movement with such a well defined goal requires to be directed by proper agencies which are capable of leading, organizing and planning.

The problem of adult education must therefore be understood in terms of the above *comprehensive goal* that has to be reached, both in the interest of the individual and in the larger interests of the community and the nation. In India this problem is linked up directly and indirectly with other equally fundamental ones such as the low standard of living, the feudalistic social structure of the country, absence of ambition and interest in life, and lack of political freedom. Further, it is rendered more difficult to tackle by the vastness of the number involved and the extensive and divergent areas inhabited by them. The time factor adds to the urgency of the problem, since, whatever may be the obstacles and difficulties involved, light must spread to the masses quickly and effectively in order to enable the country to take its rightful place amongst the progressive nations of the world. If the implications of the problem are grasped, the need of planning and understanding all the factors involved will be easily realised. Technical leadership, selection or creation of proper agencies to bear the different responsibilities, the preparation of leaders, the laying down of principles and policies, the obtaining of the necessary finance, and the determining of methods and programmes—all these are essential features of any good scheme. The problem of organization, administration and publicity are of no less consequence if efficiency is to be ensured. Finally, there is the problem of research in the field of adult education to determine the day-to-day effectiveness of actions, methods and programmes, and to find out new and better means for a more intensive and extensive prosecution of the programme of work.

The vastness, complexity and the technical nature of the problem re-

quires that it should be handled by an agency, or a number of co-ordinated agencies that are not only fit to shoulder responsibilities but capable of persistent and continuous efforts. The modern State is overburdened with functions and it is desirable that the Adult Education Movement should be directed by a central national organization which may be called "The Institute of Adult Education in India". Such a public Institution created by public funds and endowments and managed by experts, especially qualified in psychology, sociology and the theory and practice of adult education, should be preferred to the usual type of Association like a "National Association of Adult Education in India" directed and controlled by laymen or individuals influenced by party politics. An Institute such as the one proposed, should receive the fullest co-operation and financial support of the States, the provincial governments, public bodies, municipalities, and the universities. The Institute, once it is created, can determine for itself what other agencies—political, social, religious, economic, etc.,—can or should be approached for co-operation in the fulfilment of this difficult national task. The Institute may further have its own provincial branches, preferably in the university towns, as the problem involves fundamental difficulties created by the different languages and social organizations of the country.

The functions of the Institute of Adult Education will mainly be :—

- (1) To study the opportunities and possibilities of adult education in the various regional groups and communities in India. (2) To experiment on various methods of adult education and select those that are most fitted to obtain extensive results in the shortest possible time. (3) To study, prepare and publish materials for adult education at various educational levels including pamphlets, discussion guides and materials for educational use on the radio or in the cinemas. (4) To provide for the training of leadership and workers. (5) To carry on research on sociological, psychological and educational lines in order to constantly discover mistakes, devise new methods, quicken the pace of achievement, and to see that the results become permanent. The findings of research carried out, sponsored or initiated by the Institute should be made available to the educational leadership and other agencies working for the same cause in the country. The research functions of the Institute will include the provision of suggestions for research to other research institutes and research bodies in India. (6) To undertake and conduct actual experiments and demonstrations in adult education in selected areas. (7) To prepare a complete and comprehensive plan of action for execution on the cessation of hostilities and the declaration of peace. (8) To organise an adult education library and to maintain an up-to-date collection of studies, researches, experiments, and demonstrations carried out by the

Institute or other bodies.

*Leadership.*—The successful execution of an adult education programme depends largely on the existence and creation of an able and active personnel of leadership of various grades to promote the aims of the Institute. As long as the technique of adult education has not been mastered by a special branch of education, leadership will play the most important part in determining the efficiency and success of efforts. Five different types of leadership are necessary to put through a well planned programme of adult education throughout the whole country: Firstly, *Primary Leadership* must be made available and it should be inspired by the mission of adult teaching; it should be capable of planning and laying down the basic principles, policies, methods and programmes, and also of preparing and training a large number of field workers to carry out the programmes in cities, towns and villages. Belonging to the same group of leadership but performing their functions separately is the second type, namely *Leadership for Research*. The research workers must run experimental centres, devise new methods, techniques and programmes, and evaluate the suitability of existing plans and materials. Thirdly, there must be *Executive Leadership* for organization and administration, for executing the plans and programmes laid down by the primary leadership, and for supervision over the actual executive programmes. The executive branch will therefore include provincial organisers assisted by inspectors and supervisors, treasurers, secretaries and office staff. In a country where adult education involves the most complex problem of languages, a special type of *Literacy Leadership* will be necessary for the preparation of materials for instructional lectures, pamphlets, books, radio talks and commentaries, and for documentation of cinema films. Finally, there must be the backbone of the whole system, the *Local Instructor*, teacher and field worker on whose energy, ability and sincerity alone will depend the success of the whole plan.

The staff of the Institute of Adult Education will provide the first type of leadership and they will act as the initiating, advisory and policy-determining body. The administrative functions and the control of the entire execution should be in the hands of a special Commissioner of Adult Education. The Institute leadership will also be responsible for the choice and training of personnel for research. The relationship of the primary leadership to the government should be so adjusted as to assure the liberty of action of the former, avoiding interference, as far as possible, with local autonomy.

Leadership for the preparation of materials will involve a good deal of co-operation from the public, especially of writers, journalists, men of letters, and experts, over and above the special staff that will be recruited and

trained for the purpose by the Institute to remain permanently attached to it. The last type of leadership will include volunteers, social workers, persons in the teaching profession, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, and especially a large number of educated students from high schools and colleges who should be specially trained to perform the great national service of adult education.

*Training for Leadership.*—Two separate measures for the training of leaders are required for adult education. The Institute of Adult Education will be directly responsible for the training of front rank leaders for the purpose of administration, organization, supervision, preparation for some part of materials and equipment for the training of field workers. They should be given a basic course in the History of Adult Education especially with reference to the Adult Education Movement in China, Russia and Turkey—nations which have handled the problem with daring and success. Ideals, Principles and Methods of Adult Education will necessarily remain the basis of the whole curriculum which will also include a knowledge of the theory and principles of sociology and applied sociology, psychology, Indian social problems, social and economic conditions of urban and rural areas. The student will also learn methods of social approach and means of contact.

The training of field workers can be undertaken in Summer Camps, Week-end Courses, and Refresher Courses which can be given by workers of the Institute of Adult Education or the students trained by it. The method of training of field workers will closely follow methods adopted by the Scout Movement or those more recently adopted for A. R. P. Instruction Courses. The courses, however, will be naturally of longer duration and will aim at definite results. The training course for field workers should be very practical and should include the handling of experimental groups and selected urban and rural groups found in proximity to the training centres. Field workers should become familiar with discussion methods, the use of newspapers, magazines, pictures, the cinema and the radio.

*The Organizational Approach.*—Most of the failures in the past are due to over ambitious and propagandist schemes undertaken over vast areas without adequate preparation or availability of leadership and field workers of the selfless and persevering type. Adult Education efforts should start from a well prepared and organized nucleus and must gather momentum as results and experience are obtained. This by no means implies slow progress; but results of initial experiments should be analysed and evaluated, and mistakes corrected before entire talukas, districts or portions of large towns and cities are selected for effective execution of programmes, as was the case with Pro-

hibition Movement. Since the country has waited so long for a real and effective adult education programme, it is desirable that a period of at least three years should be spent over the training of leadership, the preparation and publication of materials, and the carrying out of small intensive and boldly planned experiments in selected areas. We may admit that an Adult Education Movement is impracticable for the duration of the war and till the establishment of stable national and provincial governments, but there is no reason why a beginning should not be made immediately in that direction which is the only and most effective step that will prepare India for the freedom she is struggling to win.

*Methodology.*—Adult education methods have varied in different countries according to the nature of the problem and the level of general intelligence of the people. Many experiments have already been made and many more will be necessary before suitable methods are devised to solve the complex problems involved in adult education. It will be out of place here to indicate the important results achieved so far in this particular field.

In a country like India where the masses have been accustomed for centuries to illiteracy and a general condition of ignorance, it is most difficult to convince them of the need of education and create sufficient enthusiasm and interest to make them take advantage of the opportunities offered to them to obtain the minimum of literacy and knowledge required for the purpose of an intelligent struggle for existence. The agency that undertakes the responsibility should, therefore, be such as to receive the full confidence of the masses, and the leadership must be national and progressive to convince the people that it works for their genuine interest. A preliminary propaganda and publicity must be carried out to rouse the people emotionally so that they may be ready to take advantage of the efforts that are to be undertaken for their well-being. This propaganda will be considerably successful if it is linked up with social and political idealism, and if it promises to be useful in improving the standard of life of the masses by bringing about their economic emancipation.

Once the necessary preliminary interest and enthusiasm are aroused, the successive efforts must be such as will sustain and add to the enthusiasm and interest, and under no circumstances should anything be done which may weaken the interest of those who have begun to take advantage of the earlier efforts. Two important factors which damp enthusiasm are:—(1) the dullness, incapacity, inefficiency, indiscipline or irregularity of field workers and instructional leadership, and (2) the incorrectness of methods and the inappropriateness of the curriculum and programmes. The right type of



leadership for field work will have to be carefully selected and properly trained, and correct methodological approach can be achieved only through prolonged experiments.

It will not be out of place here, however, to deal with some of the most important features of adult education methods. A very difficult problem in adult education is to determine the means of establishing and maintaining contact with the masses. Three different types of contact have been utilized in different countries with varying results :—(1) individual contact, (2) small group or classroom contact, and (3) mass contact.

The first type or the method of educating every individual separately may first appear absurd in a vast country like India, and yet as one of the methods of approach it has been found to be useful and efficient. The education imparted by this method cannot take advantage of systematisation and trained leadership. It can, however, rely upon the idealism and enthusiasm of the better educated classes and the student population in schools and colleges, and prepare a well organized plan to induce every educated volunteer to teach adults one by one, in their immediate environment. This method is very successful in educating domestic servants, priests in temples, servants in offices, and agricultural labourers. To some extent China changed this method into a group method by introducing the Monitor system first used in India to make school and college students undertake the adult education programme for small illiterate groups.

Great difference of opinion exists with regard to the classroom method of approach. The adult is found to detest any association of the idea of a school classroom. He seems to suffer from an inferiority complex when he is asked to partake of something which is associated with childhood. It is therefore desirable, as far as possible, to avoid the use of school buildings and classrooms with their usual paraphernalia of low desks and benches. The schoolroom terminology can also be advantageously avoided. In adult education it is useful to talk of groups instead of classes, leaders and instructors instead of teachers and lecturers, discussions and conversations instead of lessons and lectures. If a school room has to be used because of its convenience, then it is at least desirable to alter the environment and atmosphere.

The idea of the classroom is associated with that of the text book; and persons who have expressed their disapproval of the classroom also show their dislike for text books and readers. It is at least necessary to avoid the use of text books meant for school children for the purpose of adult education. The lessons in these books are based on child interest and problems, and are dealt with in a didactic way. Even modern text books with their pictures,

stories and appeal to play interests are found by experience to be insufficient to hold the interest of the adult. Conversations, talks and discussions are most useful for adult training, though it is true that a more than ordinary intelligence of the field worker is required for such a purpose. Besides, these are not adequate for teaching the adult to read and write. An interesting method which has been discovered and used by the writer of this article amongst aborigines, slum workers and prisoners is to make an adult read and write something which he knows by heart. Songs, prayers, stories, legends, myths, and proverbs with which a group is familiar are written and read, and thus are easily mastered. Intelligent field workers have often prepared their own lessons based on adult interests and their immediate environment, illustrated by hand and cyclostyled or handwritten for the use of individual groups.

If standardised lessons and text books are required for adult education purposes, they must be prepared by experts after a good deal of experiments. This disadvantage of a text book or a standard lesson is that it lacks local appeal which is psychologically most necessary to teach the illiterate adult whose outlook on life and general information is mainly local. Whenever text books for adults are written, it will be useful to supplement them by cyclostyled lessons written for local consumption. Text books for adults are often written with grammatical or phonetical emphasis. This is hardly necessary as the adult, even if he is illiterate, is generally a fluent speaker of his mother-tongue. An adult text book must have an adult appeal. Ideals, sequences of events and logic, appeal to the adult. A lesson on the theme of "wages" was taught as a first lesson to an entirely fresh group which mastered both its vocabulary and idea context within 45 minutes. Text books for adults should likewise be intelligently illustrated.

In India the problem of language will create very great difficulties. Such difficulties were experienced and surmounted by Soviet Russia and China. The national policy of the Soviet Union encouraged the separate evolution of linguistic and cultural groups. Soviet Russia has enriched hundreds of primitive dialects without destroying them. The writer of this article has noted a ruthless though unconscious destruction of sweet and imaginative Bhilori dialects in Gujarat by the linguistic imperialism of Gujarati. Adult education must be based on the local mother tongue. Political and religious emphasis, rivalries and exigencies should not be permitted to overrule the real welfare of a people. The Indian language problem must be solved by disinterested linguists and not politicians who very often have their over narrow interpretations of patriotism. As a principle, in the villages, adult education policy must be carried out not with a view to

wantonly and ruthlessly destroy local dialects to cater to the importance of national mother tongue. It should be found out whether the policy adopted by the Soviet Union of developing and enriching local dialects and at the same time solving the problem of national language by treating it as a fundamental and important second language is not the wisest policy in national interest. Adult education planned along these lines will help to evolve local dialects on national phonetic lines without waiting for a solution of the rival claims of Hindi, Hindustani, Urdu and English.

Whilst the language policy of the Soviet Union is worthy of intelligent adaptation and application to India after suitable modifications, equally worthy of study are the efforts of the Chinese to simplify their script. Scripts developed by Indian languages in the course of history may be scientific, but they are unnecessarily complex for the ordinary purposes of life. A reduction in the number of letters and modifications of their shapes may be undertaken by a special branch of the Institute for Adult Education, or this difficult task may be entrusted to a special agency created for that purpose. Of course, the possible reply to this suggestion will be a plea for the postponement of the problem pending the solution of the question of Indian Independence.

After the end of the great war, the third type, namely, the mass education method, has been used in many countries; and Soviet Russia was successful in practically eradicating illiteracy and ignorance by the extensive use of this method. The radio and the cinema especially facilitated its use, but Soviet Russia also utilised the pictorial method, the newspaper, the people's library, the museum and well planned exhibitions and public lectures to an equally wide extent for the purpose of reaching her goal. Imagination and ingenuity led to the full use of the wall newspaper, whilst Russian artists filled the streets of their cities with pictorial lessons that taught millions of illiterates the Russian alphabet without the aid of the teacher, the classroom or the book. Just as the child picks up the vocabulary, grammar and language of its mother tongue by continuous experience of its senses aided by normal mental activity, even so the adult can pick up his language, nay, habituate himself to deal with the problems of life, and thus develop intelligence merely by the aid of a planned educative stimulus provided by his immediate environment. The mass education method has come to the aid of the educationist in facing boldly and successfully the most baffling problem of maintaining the literacy and intelligence of the masses after the completion of their brief course of training. The democratic newspaper, the wall newspaper and the library, aided by museums, exhibitions, radio broadcasts and the films, contribute towards creating a continuous process of education which aids memory

and sustains and improves the level of intelligence.

*Adult Education Programmes.*—Most extensive experimentation is required before effective and interesting adult education programmes are devised to meet our needs. It will be disastrous to imitate and adopt programmes of other countries, as adult education programmes in India should not only take into consideration national needs, but even local needs and conditions. Fundamental handicaps, like the shortage of workers, political and religious problems, the lack of interest in life accompanied by pessimism and defeatism which are a result of chronic poverty, lack of electricity and want of communications, and many other obstacles compel the introduction of simpler programmes before extensive measures are taken after due planning and preparation for the achievement of far-reaching results.

Adult education programmes must be determined in terms of place, time, and content. It is possible to take advantage of public places like temples, schools, *dharmashalas*, lecture halls etc., to collect groups for the purpose of participating in adult education programmes. In cities work places like factories and offices have proved useful for this purpose all over the world. Housing colonies and regional distribution of groups in terms of habitations are perhaps the most effective for adult education programmes. The theatre and places where large numbers of people can be accommodated are convenient for mass education. The use of institutions like prisons, and simple programmes for convalescents in hospitals should not be ruled out where it becomes necessary to exploit every possible avenue of approach for educating the adult.

A nation which is accustomed to long hours of work in factories and offices presents great difficulties in the way of allotting time for the purpose of education. Where large numbers are to be given advantage of programmes and where accommodation, leadership and other conveniences are limited, day assignments to various groups become necessary. The duration of training for adult education should be determined in terms of experiments, but allowances should be first made for work hours, domestic duties and recreation before compelling attendance. In many cases employers have been persuaded—and there is no reason why even compulsion should not be used—to allot a specific number of hours per week to workers during work time for the purpose of adult education. Where programmes are fixed in or near welfare centres and recreation grounds, after-dinner or after-and-before-dinner hours have been found to be most convenient to workers. Workers prefer indoor programmes in the monsoon. For village programmes days and time should be determined in terms of the demand for labour. Extensive programmes could be arranged between March and middle of May when work is

light, and sowing and harvest time should be avoided.

The ultimate success or otherwise of adult education efforts depends upon the contents of the programme as much as on the enthusiasm and efficiency of leadership. The contents of the adult education programmes deserve to be most carefully planned after prolonged and continued experimentation in different regions and with different types of people. The contents will differ in the different provinces, with different racial groups, and with different intelligence and cultural levels. The contents should be grouped under different headings :—(1) Basic contents for literacy and supplementary aids to the basic programme. (2) Special contents for equipping the adult with general intelligence. (3) Special contents to attract the adult towards adult education programmes. (4) Special contents to practise and to maintain intelligence levels already reached.

Under the first heading comes group work, lessons, discussions, lectures, news lectures, newspaper reading, graded lessons on the radio, pictorial education, the utilisation of the cinema and the rehearsal of folklore, including stories, myths, legends, poems, sayings, etc., known to the people. Under the second heading are included general education for health and nutrition, sanitation, consumer education, correspondence, sex education and married life problems, forum education, education for work life and the arts and crafts, the little theatre movement, etc.

Special services to attract the adult to education programmes will include recreation and playground activities, cinema shows, music and radio programmes, excursions and camps, organized community services, employment bureaus, legal aid, and all such activities which will promote the welfare of the adult and will introduce the adult education leader as his friend. And now the contents of the fourth group may be considered. Special printed materials, wall newspapers, reading rooms and libraries equipped with graded literature with different types of appeal, debating unions, discussion groups, study circles, radio talks, cinema shows, study camps, visits to places of interest, museums and exhibitions and such other activities belong to this group which keeps the adult engaged in education programmes.

All these programmes need to be continuously changed and modified with a view to sustain the interest of the adult whose outlook on life will very slowly and gradually improve with his constant participation in adult education activities. It is necessary to keep pace with the changing standards, varying interests, and fluctuating moods of adult groups, and thus not only keep up enthusiasm but constantly give external stimulants and drives to maintain interest in adult education activities at a high level.

Adult education programmes in India should also cater to the special needs of important population groups. Rural adult education will always remain a branch deserving of special treatment to answer the needs of the vast masses of illiterate and ignorant villagers. The mental and cultural impact between the city and the village will have to be adjusted to permit gradual progress, and the adult education leader in the village will have to be familiar with major problems in urban-rural relations.

Two important special groups in the country that deserve separate attention are the aboriginal tribes and the untouchables. The former group to which belong more than twenty-three millions of Indian people have a social structure of their own. They have their own rich dialects, their own special institutions, and a distinct outlook on life in general, and adult education methods and programmes may cause perhaps as much harm as good. A special adult education commissioner, well acquainted with the life and problems of these aborigines, should be appointed to manage their programmes. The untouchables, in both urban and rural areas, should be able to share the general adult education programmes, and additional programmes should be devised to solve their special problems. Adult education of prisoners, beggars and handicapped persons open new fields that deserve special attention and treatment. The prison affords excellent opportunities for the purpose of experimentation and for the adoption of intensive adult education programmes. The beggars, on the other hand, will perhaps prove the most difficult to handle unless they are kept in special institutes and Beggar Relief Camps. The education of the handicapped adult will require special leadership, materials and technique.

*Materials.*—Materials for adult education purposes require careful preparation after prolonged experimentation. In India the task is rendered more complicated and difficult on account of the separate requirements of various language groups. The following are some of the most urgent needs:—(1) A simple manual to assist teachers of the Adult Education Institute and to prepare local leadership. The manual will explain the aims and objects, methods and techniques of adult education and will give general guidance to leaders to prepare their own teaching material; (2) Simply written discourses and discussions on interesting subjects included in pamphlets and small books for the use of students in adult education groups. This literature has to be prepared so as to meet several grades and levels of difficulty and the pamphlets should touch fundamental problems affecting the day to day life of the workman and peasant; (3) Materials employing pencil and colour including drawings and picture posters and painting, graphs and charts, and other types of illustrations, woodcuts, etc.;

(4) The use of music for adult education and the preparation of songs for community singing and gramophone records. The use of the gramophone is also suggested for the purpose of recording talks and discussions; (5) Materials for the use of the radio for broadcasting adult education programmes; (6) Materials for the use in documentary and other films; (7) Collection of materials for use in adult education museums and exhibitions.

The war, and the Indian situation especially, has led many to think in terms of post-war planning and to more ambitious action for curing major ills. It will be unfortunate if anyone remains satisfied with the meagre progress achieved so far in the field of adult education. Hence the purpose of this article is not to give details about a subject in which every keen social worker is profoundly interested but to stimulate more concrete and practical thinking in order to deal effectively with a major national problem. Adult education programmes undertaken with the best of motives are not likely to touch the fringe of this problem unless there is a scientific approach and a planned organization to achieve lasting results.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

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### TATA SCHOOL NEWS

*Convocation.*—The fourth Convocation will be held on the 10th April, 1944. We are happy to announce that Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, has very kindly consented to deliver the Convocation Address.

*Miss G. Bannerjee*, a member of the Senior Class, did her D. Phil. work at the Allahabad University and submitted her doctoral dissertation before joining our School in 1942. A few months back, it was announced that her thesis had been accepted and at the last Convocation of the Allahabad University she received her D. Phil. degree. We offer her our heartiest congratulations.

*Dr. Kewal Motwani.*—We regret to announce that Dr. Motwani who was Lecturer in Sociology in the Tata School resigned in February last for various reasons. Since his return from America he has been working for the establishment of the Indian Academy of Social Sciences. He has already secured the goodwill and co-operation of some eminent Indian leaders. Dr. Motwani explained to us in his farewell address that the establishment of the Indian Academy of Social Sciences was his life-ambition and that he could better work towards that end as a free man than as a lecturer in an institution; for, his pursuit required him to be in constant correspondence with prominent educationists all over India, to be on lecture tours, be engaged in writing relevant literature and so forth. Dr. Motwani is also carrying on a campaign for the introduction of Sociology in all of our universities. Though we miss Dr. Motwani, we cannot but wish him *bon voyage* in his quest of the Holy Grail.

*Dr. M. V. Moorthy.*—On February 7th, Dr. Moorthy, our Research Assistant, lost his father-in-law, K. Rajasimha Rao, who was suffering from diabetic carbuncle for some time. The late Rajasimha Rao was known to his intimate circle of friends and admirers as a talented Veena player. Our sympathies are with Dr. and Mrs. Moorthy in their bereavement.

*Mrs. M. Lam*, M.Sc. (Lond.), Bar-at-Law, has been invited to give a series of lectures on "Elements of Law for the Social Worker", as an Honorary Lecturer. These lectures were formerly given by Mr. Saif F. B. Tyabji. Owing to certain difficulties in arranging extra classes for these lectures so as



not to interfere with court hours, it became necessary to find a suitable person who could come during the working periods of the School. We are happy indeed to have Mrs. Lam with us this term.

### STUDENTS' UNION

**A**T the meeting of the General Body held on November 11th, 1943, the following students were elected to form the Executive Committee for the Second Term of the year 1943-44 :

#### *First Year Class*

Miss P. F. Ginwala

Mr. R. A. Shaikh

Mr. M. S. Gore

#### *Second Year Class*

Miss R. K. Sidhu

Miss K. Motiwala

Mr. M. M. Joshi

In a subsequent meeting of the Executive held in the week following, Messrs. Joshi and Gore were elected Joint Secretaries for the term and Miss Ginwala as the Treasurer.

The work executed by the Committee during the course of the term consisted mainly of socials and lectures delivered by experienced social workers, a debate and an excursion. The first event was a talk given by Mr. E. J. S. Ram on "My Experiences as a Labour Welfare Officer" (6-12-43). He made a vigorous plea for the extension of welfare activities and also stressed the necessity of placing welfare departments in charge of trained workers. Dr. (Miss) Cama, Presidency Magistrate, Juvenile Court, Bombay, gave the students an idea of the "Problems of a Juvenile Court Magistrate". She emphasized with her characteristic persuasiveness the need for educating the public to a better understanding of the problem of juvenile delinquents (13-12-1943).

On 17th January 1944 Lt.-Colonel Tarapore and Mrs. Lam were entertained to tea by the students. On this occasion Lt.-Col. Tarapore, who was formerly the Inspector General of Prisons in Burma, tried to show the direction which 'Prison Reform' ought to take in the post-war period. Rev. Coyne, Principal, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, speaking on the "Righteousness of Character" brought home to the students the fundamental importance of Reason, Passion and Firmness. He happily located these three essentials as being respectively in a Head of Ice, a Heart of Fire and a Hand of Iron (18-1-1944).

Mr. N. M. Joshi, the veteran labour leader, discussed with the students in a *conversazione* the problems of labour. One could not but be impressed by his optimism, which is guarded and yet unshaken, in spite of all the odds that he has had to face in his fights for the rights of labour. Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas, Labour Officer, Sassoon Mills, Bombay, in his lecture, marked by

an essential frankness, assured the students that even in the delicate position of a labour officer a social worker could do a great deal, if only he could succeed in gaining the confidence of both the employers and the employees. Without personal integrity, he said, this end was unattainable (18-2-1944).

This was followed by a debate which took place on February 24th, 1944, with Mr. Khandekar in the Chair. Miss P. Vakharia moved the following resolution: "In the opinion of the House, under the present economic organization social work is an eye-wash." Mr. B. Chatterji defended social work and said there were many types of social work which could effectively be undertaken irrespective of the economic organization that prevailed in society. Messrs. Nanavatti, Rao and Gore supported Miss Vakharia while Mr. Chatterji was supported by Mr. M. M. Joshi, Dr. Masani and Mr. Abhyankar. The resolution was lost by eleven votes to ten, the Chair voting in favour of the opposition. "Some Books and Their Authors" was the subject of another talk given on 25-2-1944 by Mr. K. Abbas, the well-known journalist and author. A healthy feature that attended all these talks, arranged in the course of the term, was the keen interest which the students evinced in the subject-matter of each lecture which was invariably followed by a lively and interesting discussion.

The excursion to Elephanta Caves which was arranged in the middle of December 1943, and the at-home given by the students to the past students and the members of the Faculty served to give the necessary variety to a programme which otherwise was mainly of an academic character. Amongst those who had joined the trip to Elephanta were three members of the Faculty and Dr. Asirwatham, Reader in Political Science in the University of Madras.

The Union gave a "Send-off" to Dr. Motwani who is now on a lecture tour to advocate the introduction of sociology in Indian Universities. This is, perhaps, the first time that a lecturer is being sent by the Indian Science Congress to the various Universities to move them to introduce this much needed reform. Speaking on this occasion Mr. M. M. Joshi stressed the growing need for an Academy of Social Sciences. He wished Dr. Motwani every success in his efforts.

• Now that the term is drawing to a close the activities of the Union will have to come to an end within a week or two. It is gratifying to note that the activities of the Union were conducted with the full co-operation of the students and the Faculty.

## OUR NEIGHBOURHOOD ACTIVITIES

THE School entered into agreement last November with the authorities of the American Marathi Mission to take over some of the activities of the Nagpada Neighbourhood House in order to provide facilities for our students to have experience of social work and administration under the guidance of the Faculty. The scope of the activities undertaken has been extended and new activities have been introduced. In spite of the short time at our disposal, the progress, though not spectacular, has been steady and useful. The activities have been conducted through five committees comprising the students and the Faculty :—

I. *Child Welfare Committee*.—The committee started a Nursery School with 7 children, the number now on roll being 30. Children between the ages of 2½ to 6 years are admitted. The School hours are from 9 a.m. to 12-30 noon. Children are given a wash and change of clothes on their arrival. The School routine starts with physical exercises and the other activities include rhythmic exercise, hand work, music, story-telling, excursions and nature study. Before closing, children are given light refreshment which is cheap and nutritive. The children, on admission, are medically examined.

In order to understand the child better and to promote a healthy parent-child relationship, a case study of every child in his home environment has been introduced. Six such studies have already been undertaken.

II. *Youth Welfare Committee*.—The committee looks after the physical well-being and recreation of both boys and girls. *Girls Club*—All unmarried girls above the age of 12 years are admitted. The club started with six girls and the membership rose to 22. The activities consist of, English Class, sewing, cutting and embroidery, Garbas and action songs, classical singing, and games. Besides these, socials, excursions and visits to pictures are occasionally arranged.

*Playground Activities for Boys*.—Membership to the playground is voluntary but regular attendance is insisted on from all the members. Average daily attendance is about 60. The members are grouped under three age groups, Junior group, 8 to 14 years; Intermediate group, 14 to 18; Senior group, over the age of 18 years; Major games like Volley-ball and Basketball are popular with all members. Our intermediate group was runner up in the Basketball tournament conducted by the Y. M. C. A. Our Senior group has created a favourable impression on all the teams participating in Volley-ball and Basketball tournaments conducted at the Athletic Club and Indian Gymkhana, Matunga. The tournaments are still being carried on.

Other outdoor activities conducted are group games, relay races, story-plays etc., which are particularly popular with the younger groups. The

indoor activities are conducted from 5 p.m. to 9-30 p.m. every day; the time and games are arranged according to age groups.

III. *Women's Welfare Committee.*—The committee started a Women's club with 6 members which has now increased to 24. The committee conducts classes in Urdu, Home crafts, Fancy work, Sewing, Music and English in addition to indoor games. Socials and visits to pictures are also arranged. Attempts have been made to visit chawls to establish contacts with women and also to stimulate their interest in the committee's activities carried on for their welfare.

IV. *Education Committee.*—The Committee chalked out a tentative programme of activities as follows : (1) Public lectures. (2) Weekly news-lectures. (3) Visual Instruction. (4) Adult English classes. The item of news lectures had to be dropped as the police authorities refused permission. The committee arranged a series of interesting lectures on the "Problem of Communal Disharmony". The first talk was given by Mr. M. R. A. Baig, ex-sheriff of Bombay. In the next two talks Prof. P. A. Wadia and Dr. K. R. Masani treated the subject from the economic and psychological points of view, respectively. Two other lectures were given by Dr. E. Ashirvatham, Reader in Political Science, Madras University, on "Youth and Post-War Reconstruction", and by Mr. G. B. Constantine, Commissioner of Labour, Bombay, on "Labour Welfare". All the lectures were well attended.

The other activities of this committee consist of showing educational films to children, women and men, and conducting adult English classes which are mostly attended by Telugu and Malayalam speaking labourers from Kamathipura.

V. *General Council.*—This council co-ordinates the activities of various committees and guides the work of the students. It meets from time to time, exchanges views with the committee members, discusses special problems and plans the general policy. With increasing experience of methodology and contact with the neighbourhood, we hope to widen the scope of these activities and introduce new ones as need arises.

#### ALUMNI CHRONICLE

Mr. P. S. Anant Narayan ('40), has been awarded the Vincent Massey Scholarship of the value of \$2,000, inclusive of all expenses, for post graduate studies at the University of Toronto by H. E. the Viceroy, for the year 1943-44. Since his graduation from our School, Mr. Anant Narayan has been serving as Labour Officer in the 'Tata Oil Mills' factories both in Cochin and Bombay. While in Canada, he will carry on advanced work in the lines of his study here with special reference to Industrial Psychology

and Personnel Administration. We offer him our hearty congratulations.

*Mr. G. N. Harshe* ('40), who is the Assistant Inspector of Certified Schools, was married on the 23rd January 1944 to Miss Yamu Agashe, G. A., the daughter of Dr. & Mrs. M. N. Agashe. We wish the newly wed couple a long life of happiness and service.

*Mr. G. A. Limaye* ('40), who was till recently the Probation Officer of the Bombay Presidency Released Prisoners' Aid Society, has accepted the post of Assistant Labour Welfare Officer of the Khatau Makanji Mills, Bombay.

*Mr. D. V. Kulkarni* ('38), who is the Superintendent of the Yeravada Industrial School, has passed through a period of severe trial. He was most unfortunate in losing his wife a few months ago. This was followed by the death of his aged father. We deeply sympathise with him in the irreparable losses he has suffered and extend to him and to the other members of the bereaved family our heartfelt condolence.

*Mr. P. B. Rao* ('40), the Assistant Labour Welfare Officer of the Government of Bombay, has been appointed Assistant Rationing Officer of the Government of Bombay.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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*Maria Murder and Suicide.* By VERRIER ELWIN. With a foreword by W. V. GRIGSON, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1943, XVI+259 pages, 62 half-tone illustrations. Price Rs. 10/-.

The most outstanding feature of Verrier Elwin's anthropological works is his capacity of breaking new ground and giving each of his books an air of novelty and originality. It is this novelty of approach coupled with an amazing insight into human feelings and reactions which makes all his writings so eminently readable. Nothing could be better proof of his genius of interpretation than that, when reading his books, one often wonders how one could have failed to realize what seems such obvious truth. Under his pen a subject neglected or overlooked for decades becomes suddenly vital and exciting, and I believe that few anthropologists will read his latest book, *Maria Murder and Suicide* without regretting lost opportunities.

The book deals mainly with cases of murder and suicide among the Maria Gond of Bastar, a people put on the ethnographic map of India by W. V. Grigson's book, *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*, but it has also important chapters on aboriginal crime and the criminal aboriginal in general. In this respect it is complementary to the recent "Murder Number" of *Man in India* (Vol. XXIII, No. 3) and should be indispensable to anyone who has to deal with aboriginal offenders in the capacity of administrator, judge, jail-official or social worker. Anthropologists will need no encouragement to avail themselves of the mine of first hand information contained in its pages; I foresee that *Mafia Murder and Suicide* will be quoted again and again in books of reference and anthropological compilations. For the whole field of crime among primitive races is practically *terra incognita* and Elwin's book is to my knowledge the most important contribution to this branch of criminology ever made by an anthropological field-worker.

Elwin bases his investigation on a hundred homicides committed by Maria of Bastar State; starting from the police and court-records, he studied each case by talking to the offender, whenever he or she was alive, to members of his family and to relatives and friends of the victim. The description of the events leading up to the murders and of their repercussions on the village-community are of the vividness and intimacy characteristic of all his works; the persons live; and what by the pen of another might be a dull enumeration of police-records reads here like a novel.

The great strength of Verrier Elwin in all his contacts with aboriginals is the glow of his love and sympathy; no one can resist this and it seems that so far no tribe, however timid or suspicious, has resisted it for very long. This sympathy has not failed him in his study of the aboriginal criminal. There is understanding and truth on every page of the book, and most of the Maria murderers appear not as villains or brutal bullies, but as very ordinary men or women driven to violence through misfortune or exasperation. Comparatively few of their crimes were premeditated. "Indeed some were little more than tragic accidents." According to a rough table the causes of homicide in hundred cases were: robbery or accusation of robbery, 8; quarrels over property, 15; suspicion of magic or witchcraft, 5; insanity, 5; resentment at abuse or 'word-magic, 9; revenge, 6; family-quarrels, 16; sex-motives, 17; alcohol, 19. Murders for gain are very rare and the author doubts whether any Maria murder could be classed as 'murder from the lust of killing'.

A large part of the book is devoted to a detailed analysis of the causes of homicide. Jealousy and anger over a wife's infidelity are frequent causes for murder, and a Maria believes himself justified in killing his wife (or her lover) caught in the act of adultery. "Many of the Maria homicides", states Elwin, "will be recognized not as anti-social crimes, but as expressions of the strongly social instincts of the murderer." According to the old tribal law certain acts, as for instance witchcraft, deserve death, and when a Maria murders a witch "he is the victim of intellectual error rather than of murderous passion". The discrepancy between the tribal ideas of right and wrong and the laws of the State is certainly a frequent cause for crime; an aggrieved aboriginal convinced of the justice of his cause, but unable to get redress of his grievance through a court will sometimes take the law into his own hand, or he will, as Elwin shows by a number of examples, commit suicide out of a sense of despair and frustration. Suicide is not uncommon among the Maria and its motives throw a great deal of light on their mentality.

A word of caution may here be said. We must not be tempted to apply the results of Elwin's study of the Maria indiscriminately to other aboriginals of Peninsular India. Conditions vary very considerably from tribe to tribe; among the Maria's eastern neighbours, the Bondo of Orissa, homicide is very frequent and usually due to violent passion and quick temper, among the Hill Reddi of Hyderabad there have in recent years been several cases of homicide within a community of less than two thousand persons, but among the Gond of Hyderabad murder is practically unheard of.

Verrier Elwin concludes his book with a plea for special prisons for aboriginals. His arguments are so poignant and convincing that they should be read by all those called upon to reform Indian prisons; "In jail," says

Elwin, "the aboriginal, as we have seen, suffers in acute and subtle ways. His ordinary life is so free; his needs are so few and simple yet always fulfilled; his life depends so entirely on certain stimulants to existence that without them he quickly loses the desire to live and though he survives his sentence, he comes out of jail with his faith broken and his nature permanently twisted. The aboriginal prisoner everywhere has no religious consolation, even on the eve of his execution. . . . Although his life is full of the fear of hostile supernatural beings and of his ancestors who may be deeply offended with him for his crime, he has no means of propitiating them in the proper manner. . . . What is really needed is a special prison for aboriginals only, to which all those with, say, sentences of more than seven years should be sent from every part of India. It should be situated among the hills, and run more as a camp than an ordinary prison. The aboriginals should be taught crafts which will be useful to them after their release, not occupations like weaving which are taboo. They should be given, as far as possible, food to which they are accustomed. If there were only aboriginals, it would be possible to arrange for their own priests to perform sacrifices at the time of the great festivals and whenever it was necessary to make some private act of propitiation. Regular times could be set apart for corporate singing and for dancing—which incidentally is splendid exercise and in tribal India takes the place of organized games and physical training. . . . Nothing should be done to make the aboriginal servile and obsequious. His spirit should be re-created, not broken. There is in him a great fund of natural innocence on which to build. For what great areas of crime and semi-criminal human activity are untouched by these simple aboriginals! Unnatural view is unknown to them. Rape is extremely rare. Infanticide and abortion is so unusual as to merit special record. They are almost entirely ignorant of cheating and blackmail. They do not tread the mean and devious ways of untruth. These tribesmen—and it is important to emphasize this for the *Maria*—do not cheat the poor and the weak. They are mostly ignorant of caste and race prejudice. They do not prostitute their women and degrade them by foolish laws and customs. . . . A few of them are cruel and savage, but the majority are kind and loving, admirable in the home, steadfast in their tribal loyalties, manly, independent, honourable."

After living for several years among aboriginals both in Peninsular India and Assam, I feel that this view is essentially correct. Where the aboriginals are being dispossessed of their land and exploited by members of the so-called advanced sections of the population, often oppressed and humiliated by rapacious and bullying subordinate officials, and cheated by unscrupulous money-lenders, I often wonder that murders are not more



frequent, that the exasperation of seeing their land alienated and themselves reduced to helpless bond-servants or agricultural labourers drives not more aborigines to crime and violence. But it seems indeed that murder in retaliation for economic grievances and wrongs are comparatively rare and that it is rather quarrels with tribesmen than economic disputes which rouse the aboriginal to murderous acts.

The Foreword by W. V. Grigson, far from being but a formal introduction, greatly adds to the wealth of information contained in the book. Few administrators in India equal Grigson in knowledge of the aborigines and their needs, and as Administrator of Bastar and Sessions Judge he tried several of the cases of homicide described. Future legislators—and all those who contest the value of separate legislation for backward tracts—should take note of the fact that Grigson too speaks of “the great difficulty of applying to the decision of charges against tribal offenders the general practice as to the appreciation of evidence, court procedure, the assessment of guilt and the imposition of penalties laid down in commentaries on the Evidence Act, the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Indian Penal Code. . . . without any thought that any section in these enactments, framed for sophisticated India on European models, might perhaps not suit every part of India.”

The get-up of the book is excellent and the many delightful and artistic photographs are as appealing to the general reader as they are interesting to the anthropologist.

C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

*An Investigation of the Technique of Psycho-analysis.* Edited by EDWARD GLOVER, M.D. Published by Bailliers, Tindall and Cox, 1940, pp. ix-188. 10/6d.

This is the fourth publication of Research Supplements to the International Journal of Psycho-analysis, of which Dr. Glover is the editor. Psycho-analysis has not yet attained the status of a full-grown science and the methods and techniques adopted by individual analysts are not always uniform and satisfactory. With a view to put a check on such arbitrary procedures, the present volume has been brought out by Dr. Glover, who himself is a very distinguished member of the psycho-analytic school, having to his credit several outstanding contributions in this field. Those who are already familiar with Dr. Glover's works would be in a better position to evaluate the present book which has been written more for the practising analyst than for a lay reader.

The contents of the book which aim at systematizing and correlating the work on psycho-analysis, may be divided into two major sections—one dealing

with the technique of 'Interpretation' and the other with 'Transference'—the two phenomena on which success in analytic procedure is based. A brief discussion of the problems of 'psychoses' also finds a place in the book. The questionnaire approach was adopted for this study and the author gives his reasons for using this method. Though the final tabulation of the data thus obtained has been properly weighted before claiming any reliability, yet it must be said that data, even if less in number, secured by the objective method would have been more convincing. Nevertheless, the importance of such periodical appraisal cannot be overlooked since it would lead to uniform techniques of psycho-analysis.

Three appendices have been added at the end of the book in which besides presenting the original questionnaire form used in this study, Dr. Glover has also surveyed the analytical technique in use from 1934 to July 1938. Such a critical survey by an analyst of Dr. Glover's eminence will go a long way to clear up much of the existing misunderstanding about the actual analytic procedures to be adopted for treatment.

K. C. MOOKERJEE

*The Clinical Treatment of the Problem Child.* By CARL R. ROGERS. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939. Pp. 393.

Books describing psycho-therapeutic procedures, adopted for treating children with various mental and nervous disorders, are still very few and there is no doubt that such books as the one under review would go a long way to remove this want. The author is a psychologist of repute. As Director of a well-known child guidance clinic, to which varieties of maladjusted children are brought for treatment and remedial measures, he has gained vast clinical experience. Hence the book, written as it is from the practical point of view, fills the real gap that exists unfortunately between theory and practice regarding treatment procedures in such cases.

The subject-matter of the book has been divided into three broad sections—the first dealing with the correct diagnosis of such cases while the second and third are devoted to the discussion of the actual treatment procedures. Of the treatment procedures the author rightly emphasises those methods of treatment which do not primarily depend on an almost complete change of existing environmental factors but rather upon a constructive modification of the child's own immediate conditions of life. Beside these two major parts, there is a final section of the book equally important which deals with the different aspects of the individual, and it is there that we find some popular and important scientific procedures discussed and analysed by the author.

Throughout his discussions the author nowhere makes a secret of the fact that the problems he deals with in the book are not only difficult to tackle but very often new in the sense that these have only now begun to be faced and studied scientifically. The various 'ways of practice' which have evolved over a score of years in the different clinics and child-guidance centres are presented here in a very systematic manner. The bibliography at the end of each chapter is selective rather than exhaustive. The book on the whole is a very valuable contribution to the understanding and treatment of the problem child.

K. C. MOOKERJEE

*A Plan of Economic Development for India.* By A Group of Well-known Industrialists, Bombay, 1944. Pp. 55, Re. 1/-.

The publication of the memorandum outlining a plan of economic development for India marks a new era in the history of industrial planning. The memorandum, now famous as the Bombay Industrialists' Plan, or the Fifteen Years' Plan, adumbrates a scheme for the economic development of India. The main objective of the plan is to secure a general minimum standard of living which should be reasonable from the human point of view. The present average standard of living is appallingly low, the annual per capita income for British India being about Rs. 65. The authors calculate that a per capita income of Rs. 74/- at pre-war prices is essential in order to secure a minimum standard of living. The primary needs of human existence which compose the minimum standard are studied under various sections—food, clothing, shelter, health and education (including primary, middle-school, high-school and adult).

Under each item the costs for each individual are calculated and on that basis the total target figure arrived at, taking into account the present increase in population and assuming that this rate of increase will hold good for the next fifteen years. In the course of their Plan the authors propose to double the per capita income within a period of fifteen years, bringing it to Rs. 135. This requires a trebling of the national dividend to be effected, within a like period. And the ways and means of effecting this three-fold increase in the national dividend constitutes the pith of the whole plan. According to the available figures for 1931-32 the contribution of industry, agriculture and services to the national dividend is 17, 53 and 22 per cent. respectively. The authors of the Plan propose to change the respective percentages to 35, 40 and 20 for the whole of India. Thus agricultural output will have to be increased by 180% and the industrial output by 500%. This, in the authors' opinion will secure a more balanced economy and still main-

in the agricultural character of the country.

Concerning industrial development the Plan divides industries into two principal categories—(1) basic and (2) consumption goods industries. Under the former are included Power, Mining and Metallurgy, Engineering, Chemicals, Armaments, Transport and Cement. The development of these basic industries will lay the foundation for the successful working of the Plan. Consumption goods industries include Textiles, Glass, Leather, Paper, Tobacco, Oil, etc., and in the initial stages, these are to be simultaneously developed along with the basic industries, though priority and emphasis of development belongs, of course, to the latter. The authors also make numerous useful suggestions for the scientific development of agriculture and transport (including roads and ports). Not the least important part of the plan is the proposal to start the gradual training of the necessary personnel in India and the provision made for research and the prospecting of our natural resources. The distribution of the capital requirements of the Plan is as follows :—

	(Rs. Crores)			
Industry	...	...	...	4,480
Agriculture	...	...	...	1,240
Communications	...	...	...	940
Education	...	...	...	490
Health	...	...	...	450
Housing	...	...	...	2,200
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	200
Total	...	...	...	10,000

The amount of Rs. 10,000 crores as capital requirement of the Plan may appear to be colossal. But as the authors rightly point out, "The real capital of a country consists of its resources in materials and man-power and money is simply a means of mobilizing these resources and canalising them into specific forms of activity." They have argued that the Plan is within the limits of our resources and have indicated six sources of financing the scheme :—(1) Hoarded wealth of our country. (2) Sterling securities in the Banking and Issue Departments of the Reserve Bank of India. (3) Our favourable balance of trade. (4) Foreign capital. (5) Savings within the country. (6) Money which may be created by borrowing against *ad hoc* securities from the Reserve Bank. Finally the writers have outlined the three stages in the development and working of the Plan, with a view to progressively and cumulatively reap the benefits of its execution and achievement. The expenditure for the three succeeding stages is so arranged

as to increase in "geometric progression".

Criticism may be levelled against the Plan from various points of view. First of all, the Plan contains no theory or scheme of distribution which will assure the per capita income recommended to be achieved by the authors. Mere trebling of the national dividend will not automatically bring about an *actual* doubling of per capita income. The authors are aware of this lacuna in their Plan and it appears that it is engaging their attention. It is, however, well to note that no economic or industrial Planning will succeed unless it is wedded to a well-planned social security programme. Indeed, this memorandum should have been an important part of such a comprehensive system of planning.

Secondly, the Plan gives rather too much emphasis to industrialization. It is too early to predict the reactions of the Gandhians towards this part of the Plan. But we think a rapprochement may be made on the basis of a revised co-ordination between industries and agriculture.

Thirdly, the Plan contains no workable suggestions for the training and organizing of our man-power and labour resources which are as important as capital resources. In spite of its various minor defects, the Plan is characterized by cool-headed clarity and admirable analysis. The details under several heads are marshalled with convincing reason and cogency, and there is nothing in the Plan, as we see it, which convicts it of capitalistic endeavour. In this Plan we have an instance of practical economy touched by constructive imagination, boldness of outlook helped by breadth of vision. We are glad our industrialists cannot only make money but can also think about national needs and along national lines.

M. V. MOORTHY

*Education: A Search for New Principles* by HERBERT PHILLIPSON, George Routledge & Sons, L. T. D., 1942. Pp. 96.

The author of the book was himself a school teacher and during his career of equipping young minds for life and citizenship he has had to encounter many obstacles, such as a rigid and red-tape curriculum, bad home conditions and pernicious social environment. Obviously, this has led him on to a search for new principles in education and to embody the results of his search in this interesting study. According to Phillipson education has failed in its objective because of the inexorable dichotomy of theory and practice that rules life. Education, as it is, is not related to planned life. The school, never so efficient of its kind, functions in vacuo. It is an isolated community which inculcates on its pupils precepts which not only have no roots in society but definitely conflict with the ideologies prevailing in and moulding the social milieu. Now, this social milieu, as the author says, is at

the bottom of the whole mischief. What is the social milieu? The social milieu is the social environment composed of the economic and political pattern of society with its ruthless theories of competition, labour, private ownership of property, profits and so on. This social milieu determines the child's social attitude and behaviour.

The author ably combats Freud's view that the nature of the individual is inseparably related to the Oedipus complex; that the resultant ambivalent attitude—of love and hate—towards his parent forms the nuclear complex of neurosis; and that the function of education is therefore to inhibit, forbid and suppress his instincts. Philipson's own point of view is that the attitude of the child is derived from the social milieu and there are no absolutely fixed data of instincts. In other words, human nature is the reflex of the economic structure, social environment and the cultural pattern. Hence "The function of Education", writes the author, "shall be to use, guide and encourage, and the example of teacher and society as a whole, together with the active participation of the school in social life, shall lead our children from earliest years into a likeness and sympathy with the beauty of reason". Here the author is profoundly convincing, though brief, and one wishes he had developed the argument in greater detail and with more illustrations. He has, however, well brought out the point that it is no "malevolent devil of primordial ancestry" that is responsible for setting up in the German, Jap or Italian an inborn nature which separates their way of life from that of others. By changing the social environment it is possible to change the nature of the growing child. The breach between good theory and bad practice must be bridged by bringing the latter to the level of and into contact with the former. "The whole social milieu into which the child enters must be a source of inspiration, determination and discipline". And the work of coordinating, interpreting, and inculcating healthy social ideals and values belong really to education. This will make education purposive and creative, and raise the position of the teacher to the dignity and worth of the educator of the whole man. The book contains many shrewd observations, which are well worth being treated in more detail in a later edition.

M. V. MOORTHY

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